



# Foreign Service Journal

SEPTEMBER 1980

75 CENTS

From Pearl Harbor to Potsdam  
Charles W. Yost

Use of the Consulate at Tabriz  
for Immoral Purposes

Henry S. Villard

Getting Ahead in the Foreign Service  
Curtis F. Jones

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## Letters

### Erratum

I APPRECIATE your sending a copy of the June *FSJ* to my home leave address.

I was delighted with the imaginative graphics which add much to my translation.

But I was distressed to see that the title had been changed to refer, not to Central Asia as I had it and as would have been correct, but to East Asia, which is not accurate.

ABRAHAM M. HIRSCH  
*Columbus, Miss.*

**Editor's Note:** Our imaginative graphic artist was momentarily disoriented when he did the title for Mr. Hirsch's "Déjà Vu: Russia in Central Asia" in the June *Journal*. The *Journal* regrets the error.

### Bankability of Human Rights

I HESITATE to express criticism of the article "Why Bother With Human Rights" by my classmate and friend, Sandy Vogelgesang, but I fear damage to the cause we both support.

Put quite simply, we should promote human rights in our foreign policy because the American public (via the Congress) insists upon it—not because it pays off, but because our actions must be based on our beliefs. The payoffs Sandy cites from the past cannot be proven. Some of them are extremely dubious and to even mention them is to invite devastating challenges—so much so that the very concept of defending human rights is tossed into "Cloud Cuckoo-land!"

The worst of asserted successes of human rights/national interest leakages are not only unproven but untestable. Take, for example, Preliminary returns from the Carter Administration's human rights policy do indicate increased respect for the United States on this score.

Any serious, trained political analyst who is not a hack recognizes this as absolute garbage. How do you collect such information, evaluate, and test it? How do you monitor the variations in respect

*The JOURNAL welcomes the expression of its readers' opinions in the form of letters to the editor. All letters are subject to condensation if necessary. Send to: Letters to the Editor, Foreign Service JOURNAL, 2101 E Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20037.*

June 8, 1980  
Echran

The Editor  
Foreign Service Journal

Sir: The quality of your reading (of which, perforce, we have done a good bit) has recently been enhanced by a stack of back copies of both the *Journal* and the *Newsletter*. In the process we have been reminded again of the magnificence of the support of our professional colleagues in Washington and in diplomatic and consular posts all around that beautiful world outside our windows.

The day will come when all of our compatriots in *dean* will join us in expressing our gratitude in a more direct fashion than is possible now. For the moment, we know we speak for them in saying, simply but with all the conviction we can command: Thanks to all of you, good and true friends, partners in the service of our government at home and abroad. Sincerely,  
Bruce Loring  
Sector 2, Jometh  
Michael A. Howland

over time? What are the critical variables in "respect," and what is the importance of "respect" vis-à-vis "the national interests" (another good undefinable, but ubiquitous term).

I strongly support a pervasive policy of human rights in our foreign policy, but I do so because of my deep personal belief that we Americans must be true to ourselves.

We are asking for trouble if we predict "pie-in-the-sky" advantages from doing what is simply the right thing to do.

RICHARD H. MILTON  
Counselor of Embassy  
for Consular Affairs

Bangkok

### Toward Professionalism

I ENJOYED Leon Poullada's review of Smith Simpson's newest book, *The Crisis in American Diplomacy*. It seems to me that three congratulations are in order—first, to Smith for the dedication that he has continued to give to the Service since his untimely retirement several years ago (which has most recently culminated in this book); second, to Leon for the special insight he has so gracefully articulated in his review; and third, to the editors of the *Journal* for publicizing this objective critique of the Foreign Service.

To add some fuel to Smith's already hot fire, I recall an event which occurred when I was deputy

(Continued on page 45)

## A Diplomat's Viewpoint

Leaks

JACK PERRY

Leaks to the press have become an accepted part of our system of government and therefore constitute a danger to it.

By "leaks" I mean the unauthorized disclosure of information meant to be kept confidential for sound security, diplomatic or policy-making reasons. I do not mean, when I say "leaks," the providing of full information to the press so that the public will understand the basis of policy. Nor do I mean the free dialogue between journalists and public servants which is a tradition in our society. I mean by "leaks" disclosing things that ought not to be disclosed, and I think nearly all of us know in practice when the line is crossed from legitimate information to leaking, shadowy as that line might be in theory.

When I entered the Foreign Service during the Eisenhower administration we hardly needed to be told that a diplomat did not hand copies of a confidential cable to a reporter. We knew that was wrong.

We soon learned, however—those of us who did not know already—that "the ship of state leaked at the top," and that the tradition of judicious, selective placement of "news" was an important part of the Washington scene. We found this acceptable, most of us young diplomats, because we knew that the press, the Fourth Estate, was part of our system of governance, and we took it for granted that journalists shared our goals and purposes and might on occasion responsibly share our secrets. *Times* of London correspondents had been doing this for centuries. If the *New York Times* knew of the incipient Bay of Pigs operation and kept its peace, what was surprising about that? We were all part of the same team.

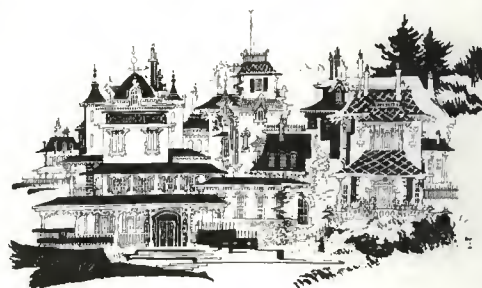
But in these latter years—I date the change, myself, roughly from the time of John Kennedy's assassination—attitudes have altered enormously. During the Vietnam war many of us became convinced that government was not "us," it was the adversary. Those running the country were apparently up to no good, many decided, so along with our demonstrations and protests we concluded that publishing supposedly secret material was the best way to expose our rulers' mistakes. The "Pentagon Papers" were a spring and symbol of this attitude.

Of course a healthy skepticism, even contempt, for our governors in Washington has always been common in American democracy: "throw the rascals out" has been a perennial cry. The accepted way of opposing those in power has changed, however, or so it seems to me. Rather than appealing to the ballot, many of us—discouraged no doubt that Vietnam went on from election to election, regardless of promises—decided that active exposure of current knowledge and policy was the only effective way towards change. An active adversary policy, in short.

What has happened in these last few years, I think, is the acceptance and institutionalization of the practice of leaking. Moral restraints have been lifted. Penalties are vague, or disregarded, or unknown, or hidden, or ignored—in fact any public word against leaking is

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avoided because it makes the speaker look like a muzzler. (As I fear I may look, in this column, although that is not my intent.) The idea of an official secrets act is almost taboo, since everyone assumes that the press would crucify any public advocate, and that the Congress would never consider passing legislation so manifestly—it is said—against popular sentiment.

So we leak. We all know which journalists have their sources at the Pentagon, or State, or ACDA, or the NSC, or wherever, and we know when we see a fresh juicy bit of super-codeworded intelligence data that one of the plugged-in reporters will have it in print or on the air within a few days. We all know that if a State Department cable is distributed in more than five copies, it or its contents are likely to see daylight within days—or if the subject matter is truly topical and contentious, within hours. And we all know that if a paper or network or magazine gets its hand on an exclusive secret, it will surely print it, and damn the consequences.

A Washington insider argued with me quite seriously that the prevalence of leaks hurt no one, and kept policy-makers honest. I strongly disagree. Let me try to list a few of the main harms that I believe come from the institutionalization of leaking:

(1) Policy decisions are made too often by a restricted group operating in haste and under pressure, for fear their deliberations will be leaked. I submit that this is a principal reason for hurried, un-thought-through decisions by our leaders.

(2) Public debate, essential to our democracy, is focused—often on purpose by the leaker—on selected

aspects of an issue rather than on the whole issue. Intelligence leaks by “cold warriors” or their opponents have often typified this procedure.

(3) “The need to know” has been altered to “the need to know among non-potential leaders.” The habit of restricting useful information grows; middle-level officials do not know enough to make informed judgments; high-level officials are deprived of useful advice from below. (Some strenuous efforts have been made to change this, and to widen the flow of available information; but it has been a hard, uphill battle.)

(4) Vital issues are ignored or unexamined because putting them on paper means opening them up prematurely to public scrutiny in the *Post* or *Times*.

(5) Friends, allies and potential sources in the adversary camp are not so open with us as before, because they fear seeing their names or views in print. As a diplomat, I have seen American diplomacy progressively damaged by this growing lack of confidence in the confidentiality of communication with us.

(6) We hand priceless information to the Soviet Union and other present or potential adversaries, thereby hurting the national interest, often quite seriously.

I could continue this list, but my point is made: Leaking is hurting us as a nation, in my opinion. I personally believe the hurts are more serious than many of us would like to believe.

So what can be done about it? Some of the best-informed say that nothing can be done until attitudes change towards our institutions and our laws, so that we do not always consider ourselves honor-bound to be an

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adversary of our own government. I see signs that this change is taking place. Obviously we cannot expect the press to change its attitude towards the institution of leaking until the general run of Americans changes our common attitude. With that in mind, let me suggest the following steps for consideration:


First, we should try to educate all public servants as to why secrets must be secret. I have seen tragic cases of young diplomats leaking because no one ever taught them it was wrong. We need to teach everyone with access to confidential information *why* it is wrong to leak.

Second, we need to publicize the penalties that exist for leaking. We should overcome our reluctance to announce those cases of punishment for leaking.

Third, we need stronger penalties and clearer guidelines. (I underline that I speak as a former journalist with a profound belief in the vital necessity of a free press for democracy.) The Congress, reflecting changes in American attitudes, should be prepared to help in this endeavor.

Fourth, we need to set forth on paper the executive branch policy about information disclosure. The rules of behavior ought to be known.

Fifth, we need to have the press as part of this effort, not opposed to it. We should have a total exchange of information and views on what is legitimate in giving out news, and on stopping—from both sides—what is illegitimate.

Sixth, treacly as it may sound, we need to refresh our national respect for the institutions of government. We need badly today to pull together, not pull apart. Leaking too should be subject to our higher interests. 

## Communication Re:

### *Loyalty and Responsibility*

ERIC GRIFFEL

The January 1980 issue was one of the best the *Journal* has had in many years. I was particularly interested in "A Diplomat's Viewpoint," infuriatingly brief though the treatment was, and in "Geopolitics and East Bengal." I discerned a linkage in the themes of the two articles and have noted some subsequent reverberations particularly in the March issue ("The Foreign Service and Presidential Control of Foreign Policy").

My interest in the Bengal article arises partly because I was very slightly involved in some of the events described. My point of view on these events is very similar to that of Grant Parr; I have no wish to defend former Secretary of State Kissinger; still less does Mr. Kissinger need my defense. But I do remember that in July 1971, in Islamabad where Kissinger spent some time, mostly to mask his trip to China, I had an opportunity to argue the case that Dacca was making; that the United States should be more even-handed in its treatment of the civil war belligerents and that we should condemn Pakistani atrocities. Kissinger asked whether the policy we advocated would shorten the war, change its outcome or lessen its horror. I could not answer positively. End of conversation. This account, on which I have notes made

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immediately after the conversation, reflects a different set of concerns than those described by Grant Parr and does not square with Dr. Kissinger's account of the crisis in *White House Years*. Of course I cannot vouch that the Kissinger questions in my notes were not couched only to comfort a pest with too soft a heart and get rid of him to make way for more important business.

Which brings us to Martin Herz's book essay in the March issue. Like Grant Parr I confine myself to that which I know. Like Grant Parr I have seen no evidence marshaled by Kissinger to prove that India wanted to annex West Pakistan and that our tilt was therefore justified to save Pakistan. Moreover, whatever the truth of this claim, it obviously had nothing to do with the events of March 1971 which were the focus of our tilt. India could not have known in March that Yahya Khan would grossly overreact, cause the subsequent breakup of Pakistan, and thus ironically become the real father of Bangladesh. Whatever the motivation of Indian action in the fall of 1971, it could tell us nothing of Indian motives in March and April. Mr. Herz obscures Dr. Kissinger's obfuscation of this crucial difference in time.

The underlying theme, or perhaps an underlying theme, of all three pieces is the kind and degree of loyalty each of us bears toward the State Department, the executive branch, the president, the government and the country (there is a distinction between the last two which should be insisted upon). Aside from being shocked at the amount of work those on the seventh floor do, and having doubts as to whether one's best work is done under such circumstances, I also find it distasteful that it seems necessary to demonstrate that one works hard. Surely the

British practice of pretending to do little or nothing, even while working hard, has more elegance and panache and the unforced unhurried style can make for a better atmosphere in which to do good work. But what really bothered me in "A Diplomat's Viewpoint" is "the fierce loyalty to the president, the secretary and 'the administration.'" This, it seems to me, goes beyond the need to carry out orders/policies with all one's skill and heart. It suggests the cultivation of identity, if not of view, at least of approach and philosophy, with a particular president, a particular secretary and a particular administration. I hope we have not come to that; in this instance I am reassured that President Nixon and Secretary Kissinger clearly did not think that the Foreign Service could be thus characterized.

In replying to Laurence H. Silberman, Nathaniel Davis describes the Foreign Service officer as one "who tends to regard himself—and to do his best to represent himself—as the president's man in the bureaucratic wars with other agencies which have strong constituencies and resultant power. The presidency is the mast to which he wishes and tries to nail his flag." There is an elision here between the presidency and the president which is troubling. It is not clear, despite the explanation, why the Foreign Service officer is any more the president's man than the clerk in the Bureau of Mines. But the real questions are whether the FSO should be the president's man and what is such a man. It is wise to remember that on ninety-nine issues out of a hundred being the president's man hardly reflects support of the president on an issue on which the president has thought or still less about

(Continued on page 41)

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## SERVICE VIEWS COUNT

Over 1100 Foreign Service people responded to the Association's survey on their views about the principal issues facing the Service. The results, which are reported in detail on page 24 of this issue of the *Journal*, will guide the Governing Board in making decisions and setting priorities during the next year. We are grateful to all those who took the time to complete the survey, which we believe is the most extensive ever done on the Foreign Service. Significant findings included the following:

### Foreign Service Act

Ninety six percent of the respondents were familiar with the Act and 85 percent had read AFSA summaries of it—indicating the critical importance the Service attaches to this issue. Fifty two percent said they believed that, on balance, this bill is in the best interest of the Service and the people who comprise it. Thirty one percent were not sure and 17 percent answered in the negative. Pay comparability and allowances were considered the best provisions of the Bill by margins of better than five to one. The Senior Foreign Service was liked least by sixteen percent of the respondents and changing the mandatory retirement age to age 65 also disturbed 8 percent of respondents.

We believe the course we are following with regard to the Foreign Service Act is consistent with these responses from those we represent. Pay and allowances remain vital to the acceptability of the legislation and we have so informed Secretary Muskie and the Congress. Both have indicated their full support for these measures. The Service is wary about implementation of the new Senior Foreign Service. We have concentrated on safeguards in the legislation itself and are geared up for a major effort to assure that in regulation and practice the Senior Foreign Service provisions are not abused.

### State of the Service

Perhaps the most disturbing finding of the survey was that 47 percent of the Service are seriously considering leaving it. Among FSOs and FSIOs those considering leaving were in the majority. The reasons offered were cogent and indicated the seriousness of the discontent. Pay, benefits and allowances as well as a lack of promotions headed the list of reasons for those contemplating leaving, but, almost all respondents listed a continuing decline in professionalism, influence over foreign policy, esprit de corps and morale as important problems facing the service today. Dangers and hardship ranked relatively lower despite the unprecedented and, in the case of Iran, still unresolved attacks on our people during the past year.

We believe these findings support the basic message we have attempted to convey to the American people and Congress during the past year—Foreign Service

people are proud of the important work we do and will put up with dangers and hardships as long as our government supports us in the pursuit of national interests, compensates us fairly and does its part to ease the burdens of worldwide availability to a greater extent than is now the case. We have highlighted these findings to the secretary. CBS News has reported them nationwide and they will be used in upcoming feature on the Foreign Service in *Parade* magazine.

### Foreign Service Interests

By a comfortable margin, "recognition of Staff Corps contributions" ranked as the topic of highest concern to members of the Service. The next three priorities were danger, hardship and cost of living allowances followed by mid-career admissions standards. Protection of annuities, pay parity for mid career officers and for Staff Corps and the assignments process rounded out the top ten.

Considering that only slightly more than 10 percent of the respondents were from the Staff Corps the priority given by the Service as a whole to its problems is dramatic. To our minds it is fully justified. The Governing Board takes it as a mandate to move ahead vigorously with an all-out effort to give the Staff Corps due recognition and voice in the Foreign Service and to end any vestiges of second-class status. We have already placed heavy emphasis on the pay and allowance issues of concern to the Service but recognize that we will need to broaden our efforts on retirement issues. Our first success in this regard came when the Senate Foreign Relations Committee agreed with our proposals to raise the limit on combined pay and annuities for reemployed retirees. With regard to the assignments process, the State and AID Standing Committees are both engaged in extensive negotiations with management. Members will note that the Foreign Service Club is in last place on your priorities list. Consistent with that view, the Board earlier this year made major changes in club management and is pleased to report that for the first time the club is returning a small profit to the Association.

### Security

Respondents were almost equally divided among those who felt more, less or about equally safe at their posts as in Washington. However, house breakings, burglary, street crime, mob violence, war and natural disasters all loomed large as threats in many posts. By better than two to one overseas respondents found security measures at their posts adequate. Our Extraordinary Dangers Committee is examining the reports of specific deficiencies at some posts and will continue to prod management for improvements.

(Continued on page 26)

"Russia helped herself to a slice of Poland and gave Poland a nice slice of Germany taking also a good slice of East Prussia for herself."—Harry S. Truman

# FROM PEARL HARBOR TO POTSDAM

CHARLES W. YOST

Before moving on from World War II it seems once again relevant to set forth a few of my personal experiences and impressions during those years from Pearl Harbor to Potsdam.

Three weeks after the War in Europe broke out in 1939, Roosevelt asked Congress to repeal the arms embargo provisions of the Neutrality Act which my division in the State Department had been administering. In November the embargo was lifted, American arms began to flow in quantity to Britain and France, and my division evolved, slowly at first, rapidly after the fall of France, from an enforcer of neutrality into an instrument of economic warfare. From then on we worked in close collaboration with the British embassy to restrict the flow to the Axis powers of any supplies of military value, not only from the United States but from neutrals.

A few evenings after the attack on Pearl Harbor I stood in a small crowd in the chill December darkness on the lawn behind the White House and heard Winston Churchill, his stocky figure solid as a rock beside Roosevelt in the dim light of the portico, speaking movingly of his American mother, his heritage from two English-speaking nations, and his unshaken confidence that they would triumph together.

I shared this confidence and, de-

---

*Charles W. Yost joined the Foreign Service in 1930. Following the World War II adventures in this chapter he served as chargé in Bangkok, minister in Athens and deputy high commissioner in Vienna. He was then named ambassador to Laos, minister in Paris and ambassador to Syria and Morocco. Ambassador Yost retired in 1966 to join the Council on Foreign Relations but was recalled in 1969 for appointment as permanent representative of the US to the UN.*

*This chapter is from his forthcoming book, History and Memory, copyright (C) 1980 by Charles W. Yost reprinted by permission of W. W. Norton & Company, Inc.*

spite the appalling series of disasters which followed for us and our allies during the next six months, I never for a moment doubted that we would win. In my diary on January 4, 1942, I noted that American entry in the war made this outcome certain. I also remarked that it might be easier to beat Germany than Japan, because the former was easier to get at, that we should be able to knock out Germany by the winter of 1943-44 and Japan a year later.

Incidentally I was astonished throughout the war by the alternating complacency and panic of military intelligence, with some of whose officers we were in frequent touch. They expected the Polish army to hold out longer than it did; they were totally surprised by the fall of France, but thereafter almost unanimously certain that Britain would fall very shortly; they thought the Russians would be beaten in a matter of weeks; they never imagined there would be an attack on Pearl Harbor, but when it came and was followed by a series of disasters, were convinced Alaska would be occupied by March or April; after the tide turned they had no doubt that victory in Europe would be achieved by the autumn of 1944; on the other hand, they were persuaded until the last minute that the war against Japan could not be ended until late in 1946. Fortunately, in most of these cases, Roosevelt and Churchill had more perspicacity and more sang-froid.

In the early fall of 1941 most of the responsibilities for economic warfare were shifted from the State Department to a new agency under Vice President Wallace, first called the Economic Defense Board, later the Board of Economic Warfare. I was at first placed in an office under Assistant Secretary Dean Acheson charged with liaison with

the new agency but very shortly, when Undersecretary Sumner Welles judged that his office was not being sufficiently protective of his beloved Latin Americans, it too was abolished. Acheson rather sheepishly informed me that, when he saw an express train roaring toward him (a reference to Welles's notable combination of impetuosity and inflexibility), he thought it only prudent to step off the track.

At this point I had a brief assignment with a new division foresightedly charged by Cordell Hull, even at this early date, with postwar planning. It was headed by a short, roly-poly, twinkly-eyed, extremely sharp and guileful gentleman of Russian-Jewish extraction named Leo Pasvolsky. He had been a longtime and trusted adviser of the secretary on economic matters but was henceforth until after the San Francisco conference to engage exclusively in postwar planning, to which he devoted himself with the deepest dedication, pragmatism and adroitness.

I recall that one of my responsibilities with him was to serve as secretary of a newly created committee of experts on postwar security, of which Norman Davis was chairman, Hamilton Fish Armstrong, (to become my very close friend), an articulate member, and Grayson Kirk, later president of Columbia University and of the Council on Foreign Relations, first my assistant and later my successor.

However, postwar planning, except planning for the military occupation of liberated territories, was not a responsibility which in Washington in 1942 enjoyed much prestige outside, or even inside, the State Department. My diary at the time reports a conversation with William Castle, undersecretary of state under Hoover, noting a conversation he had with Charles

Evans Hughes, former chief justice of the Supreme Court and secretary of state. Hughes remarked that it was useless to do any postwar planning for Eastern Europe and the Balkans since "the Russians would decide all that." In my diary comment I was doubtful of this prediction unless "the British abdicate completely and leave a howling vacuum." Unfortunately, it was American rather than British "abdication," but most of all the implacable torrent of Soviet armies, which decided the fate of Eastern Europe and the Balkans.

With the Allied invasion of North Africa in November 1942, I was shifted to an office of foreign territories charged with representing the State Department in interagency direction of civil operations in the liberated areas. Working in this office strained my diplomatic abilities to the utmost, since it was headed by a very odd couple in reluctant and uneasy association, Ray Atherton, an extremely able but ultra-conservative professional, whose object was to restore the status quo ante in the liberated territories, and Paul Appleby, a transplanted New Dealer, whose object was to upset the status quo ante. My sympathies were with Appleby but, since Hull's were with Atherton, he usually won.

An additional ace in Atherton's hand was that he was zealously carrying out the policy of Roosevelt and Hull, which he and Admiral Leahy, our ambassador in Vichy, had inspired, of denigration of de Gaulle and the "so-called" Free French and support of more expedient but less noble characters, such as Darlan and Giraud, whereas Appleby leaned to the Free French and was vocally hostile to anyone linked to Vichy. I was already convinced at the time that de Gaulle, while a stiff, inflexible and uncongenial character from the Anglo-Saxon point of view, would prove to be a hero to the people of France and that we would do far better to accept him early than late. However, Roosevelt and Hull, for reasons I could never quite fathom, had acquired a passionate dislike for this all too Gallic champion. Atherton imposed their policy with an iron

hand, and before long Appleby sank without a trace.

As a consequence of the outcome of this bureaucratic hassle Atherton, who was interested only in refounding de Gaulle, let responsibility for economic operations in liberated territories return to Dean Acheson, from whom he had originally filched it. Acheson

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**"Berle was a small, intense, impatient, pyrotechnical man, contemptuous of those of lesser intellectual prowess (almost everyone) and little given to concealing that fact."**

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put in charge of these operations a close friend, Tom Finletter, who was later to become secretary of the air force under Truman and a power in New York liberal politics with Eleanor Roosevelt. Finletter, to whom I was now assigned, soon found himself as deeply mired in bureaucratic politics as Appleby had been but he handled them, at least for a time, much more adroitly. Among the more jealous and pretentious of the numerous nabobs with whom he, and occasionally I, had to cope were Harry Dexter White, Henry Morgenthau's righthand man, later father of the Bretton Woods agreements, still later a suicide under suspicion of being a Communist agent; and Herbert Lehman, just retired as governor of New York and now heading a new agency for overseas relief, which was ultimately to evolve into the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Agency.

At this point the Allied armies invaded Sicily and Southern Italy and it became necessary, since the Italians after twenty years of Fascism were not judged fit to run their own affairs, to set up an Allied civil administration. Every agency in Washington dashed forward to share the spoils and glory. Acheson and Finletter were able to grab the ball on the economic side and a team was quickly organized

under another former New Dealer, "Beany" Baldwin, to proceed to Naples.

By this time I had become extremely restless watching the war from Washington and had determined to seize the first opportunity to get closer to the action. This seemed a golden one, I applied for a place on the team, passed inspection by Baldwin, and was accepted. Came September and we were ready to take off. I had all my gear—uniform, helmet, olive-drab blankets, mosquito netting, first-aid kit—had practically kissed my reluctant wife and son goodbye, and was to take off at any moment.

Alas, Acheson and Finletter, while seeming prudently to have covered the bureaucratic waterfront, had forgotten the White House. This was a not unnatural omission in those benighted days before minions of that establishment had taken on plenipotentiary powers, but it proved to be a fatal one. Suddenly, without warning to anyone but no doubt with secret zest and amusement, Roosevelt created out of thin air a wholly new "Foreign Economic Administration" under a hitherto unknown gentleman named Patrick Crowley and attached to it all the functions we in the State Department had been preparing to perform. I was left high and dry, just when almost airborne.

Fortunately for me, though my disappointment at losing my Italian province was very keen indeed, the needs of the day were so great that I was for no more than a moment unemployed. Adolph Berle, assistant secretary of state, formerly one of Roosevelt's original Brain Trusters, needed a temporary assistant and I was so named.

Berle, a boy wonder who had graduated from Harvard at the age of 18 and whose *Modern Corporation and Private Property* is still today a relevant classic, was a small, intense, impatient, pyrotechnical man, contemptuous of those of lesser intellectual prowess (almost everyone) and little given to concealing that fact. He compulsively involved himself in feuds with most of the other senior officers of the department. On the other hand, he was uniformly

courteous and benevolent to subordinates. The last time I saw him, many years later and shortly before his death, was when he kindly appeared with me on a radio program to publicize one of my books, *The Insecurity of Nations*.

Berle's duties, and hence mine, were diverse, mysterious and, for most Americans in those days, glamorously novel. They involved political supervision of the various clandestine activities into which the war had almost for the first time drawn us. We sat on the joint intelligence committee of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and also did liaison with Bill Donovan's Office of Strategic Services, the forefather of the CIA.

The main issue of the latter at the time was the relative amount of aid

"Magic," our interception and code-breaking of enemy and neutral messages in which we had become highly adept, which should have enabled us to forestall Pearl Harbor and which did assist us to win the battle of Midway. My job each morning was to run through this vast compendia and mark the dozen or so messages I thought would be of most interest to the six or seven senior officers of the department authorized to see this material, indeed the only ones there who knew of its existence.

Many of these insights into enemy assessments and intentions were of great usefulness to us, and I would assume the military messages, which I did not see, were even more so. I did not have serious doubts about the utility of this

Yet the process, once started, like so many others in human society, rolls on like an avalanche, accumulating more and more useless debris as it goes. After all, there is a fascination about "reading other people's mail," no matter how trivial it may be.

I might mention one further sidelight on this exotic activity which came to my attention two years later. At one point during the San Francisco Conference, when the Soviets were being particularly unpleasant and inscrutable, I asked Stettinius whether we should not be intercepting their messages. He replied that this had several times been proposed but that Roosevelt had rejected it as disloyal to an ally. I respected the president's scruples but could not help but doubt that they were being reciprocated on the other side.

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"At first the senior officials fought with Stettinius and me to prevent 'their' issues being placed on the agenda and, if they were, fought with each other as to how they should be disposed of."

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to be afforded to Tito or to Mikhailovitch, protagonist in the field of the Royal Yugoslav government-in-exile. Berle, despite, or perhaps because of, having been a long-time liberal, was strongly pro-Mikhailovitch. Indeed he was ahead of his time in opposing substantial aid to Communist-dominated Resistance movements anywhere in Europe outside the Soviet Union and, like Charles Evans Hughes, in expressing the greatest apprehensions, as early as 1943, that they might take over much of the continent. It was, however, ironic that the chief target of his ire was Tito, who was within four years to inflict on Stalin the unkindest cut of all.

My most time-consuming duty, however, was to go over each morning two or three fat loose-leaf books each containing as many as one hundred hectographed pages. This was only the political part of the previous night's "take" of

exercise in wartime, but even at that time I find the following comment in my diary: "A person with an excellent first-hand knowledge of Europe, for example, can from his reading of the newspapers predict developments practically as well as one with access to the most secret sources."

I have never been certain since, during the many years I have read thousands of such intercepted messages at home and abroad, that the continuance of this practice in peacetime, and its astronomical multiplication, is worth the vast expenditure of time, energy and funds it requires. It may well have become only one more of those vast "boondoggles" which persist unnecessarily, but have become sacrosanct, under the label of "national security." I can recall very few such intercepts which contained information I had not already learned, deduced or guessed from more conventional sources.

As I have said, my assignment to Berle was a temporary one and I was at the beginning of 1944 shifted to another which had a considerable impact on my career.

Edward R. Stettinius, Jr., former chairman of the US Steel Corporation and Lend Lease Administrator, was named undersecretary of state in September 1943, replacing Sumner Welles who had quarrelled irreconcilably with Cordell Hull. Stettinius was soon appalled by the disorganization and the vendettas in the department, whereby an array of rival fiefdoms reported independently to the secretary and undersecretary without coordination among them, even little knowledge of what the others were doing. The clashes of personalities, between Berle and Acheson, between James Dunn representing Europe and Wallace Murray representing the Near East, between Herbert Feis and Leo Pasvolosky battling for control of economic policy and the secretary's ear, between Stanley Hornbeck, jealously monopolizing his Far Eastern turf, and everyone else with an interest in it, were monumental and distracting.

Stettinius created a policy committee of senior officials which met at first once a week, later three times a week, to consider matters of common concern and, in theory, to hammer out common policies. I was selected in January 1944 as

executive secretary of this committee, to prepare its agenda and follow up execution of its decisions, and performed these functions for a year and a half. At first the senior officials fought with Stettinius and me to prevent "their" issues being placed on the agenda and, if they were, fought with each other as to how they should be disposed of. Eventually Stettinius, particularly after he became secretary of state, accustomed them to the practice of peaceful coexistence.

Stettinius has been much denigrated both by contemporaries and historians on the grounds that he had neither the training nor the experience to fill in those critical times the office of secretary of state, to which Roosevelt appointed him in December 1944, allegedly because the president and Harry Hopkins wished to direct foreign policy without interference from the civilians. While it is quite true that Stettinius was neither a statesman nor a philosopher, he was a superb administrator and morale builder in his own organization. He was a great conciliator who never would admit that a difference was irreconcilable nor a problem insoluble. He had many friends and few enemies. He had done a magnificent job of despatching an enormous volume of Lend Lease supplies to Allies around the world. He reformed fundamentally the administration of the antique and sclerotic State Department. Many of his reforms, the best testimony to their soundness, have survived the countless reorganizations of the succeeding three and a half decades.

The calibre of the men he gathered around him during his tenure as secretary is further evidence of his flair and effectiveness: Joseph Grew, former ambassador to Japan, as undersecretary, who was to play such a significant part, by insistently advocating retention of the emperor, in bringing about the Japanese surrender; Will Clayton, one of the ablest public servants I have known, as assistant secretary for economic affairs; Dean Acheson, reincarnated in charge of congressional relations, in which capacity he obtained almost unanimous Senate consent to the UN Charter and the Bretton Woods agreements; Nelson Rocke-

feller as assistant secretary for Latin American affairs; Archibald MacLeish as assistant secretary for public relations, aided incidentally by a young man who then emerged for the first time in the public eye, Adlai Stevenson.

It is true that Stettinius was not always notable for his discretion. I recall his once telling the British ambassador in my presence, just

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**"As I say, I could not at the time conceivably imagine why a young man of such promise should make such a despairing remark."**

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after Roosevelt had been nominated for his fourth term with Harry Truman as candidate for vice president, that the "general feeling" in Washington was that, if anything should happen to Roosevelt, Truman would have to be "poisoned." This facetious remark reflects the low repute in which an undistinguished product of the Kansas City "Prendergast machine" was held in Washington at that time. Yet only ten months later Truman was to fire Stettinius from his job as secretary of state, and to go on to become one of our outstanding presidents of this century.

One of my early assignments with Stettinius was to attend the Dumbarton Oaks Conference in 1944 at a lovely, old-world estate in the heart of Washington, where American, British and Soviet delegations drew up together the first draft of the United Nations Charter and where I began an association of more than a quarter century with that institution. My particular responsibility was to serve as secretary of what turned out to be the most important committee of the conference, that dealing with the security and enforcement powers of the organization. The committee met in a little upstairs room under the roof and, day after day in the sweltering heat of an un-air-conditioned August and September, hammered out the brave

new compact "to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war."

It was a source of some embarrassment to me, as an American, to have to admit to myself that by far the smartest characters on this committee were two Russians, Leo Pasvolsky of our delegation and Arkady Sobolev of the Soviet, that most of its debates were a duel between them, and that they were jointly the authors of most of this part of the charter. On the other hand, the head of the entire Soviet delegation was their ambassador to Washington, a solemn humorless young man who looked as though he were sucking a lemon, Andrei Gromyko. One was not sure whether the extremely laconic character of his contribution was due to lack of wit or lack of instruction.

Of course some of the basic principles were as good as settled before the conference even met. For example, not only were the Soviets insistent on the right of veto for permanent members of the Security Council, but so equally was the United States, at least insofar as substantive matters were concerned. I attended US meetings preparatory to the conference at which members of the Senate and the House, generals and admirals representing the Pentagon, were adamant in insisting that American "boys" must not be sent into foreign wars, as the charter would provide under certain circumstances, without the explicit consent of the US government, which required our right to exercise a veto if necessary. The argument on this point at Dumbarton Oaks, and subsequently at Yalta and San Francisco, revolved not about the veto per se but about subsidiary issues: whether the veto should apply to procedural matters, whether there should be freedom of debate in the Security Council, not subject to veto, and whether in particular a permanent member who was party to a dispute should be able to veto discussion of an action on that dispute. Ultimately, after hot arguments at Yalta and during a visit to Moscow for the purpose by the mortally ill Harry Hopkins, the liberal view, which the US espoused, prevailed on all these three points. Stalin had other fish to fry.

One rather odd incident at this conference involving Alger Hiss has always stuck in my mind. After having worked through most of the war with Stanley Hornbeck on the Far East, Hiss had come to head a new division concerned with postwar planning. He had particularly become an authority on the embryonic United Nations. It was in this capacity that he had been named secretary general of the Dumbarton Oaks Conference, that he was taken by Stettinius to Yalta, and that he became subsequently secretary general of the San Francisco Conference. At the time of Dumbarton Oaks he was considered to be one of the two or three most brilliant young men in the department, one of those most certain of a distinguished career.

It was therefore with the utmost amazement that, in a relaxed moment at the conference, I heard him make an inexplicable remark. The conferees used to take their lunch on the terrace in the shade of great oaks and elms, overlooking the glorious gardens. At one such lunch I was sitting at a small table with Hiss and one or two others. I do not recall the context of the conversation or the precise words he used, but I do vividly remember that he said in effect that he sometimes wished that he was dead.

Those of us at the table were struck quite dumb. As I say, I could not at the time conceivably imagine why a young man of such promise should make such a despairing remark. As I reflected years later, it occurred to me that it was precisely for this reason that he made it. Whatever may have been the nature of the clandestine involvements that later brought about his ruin, he may already in 1944 have acutely and daily felt the intolerable weight, the ever-present danger, they imposed on his peace of mind and all his brilliant prospects.

Soon after taking over as secretary of the policy committee I acquired another and even more fascinating duty with Stettinius. Like Roosevelt but to an even greater degree, he had an almost invincible dislike for reading any document longer than a single page. He was not a scholarly or contemplative type and acquired

his information through his ears and his nose.

At the same time, there was coming into the department daily a vast flood of papers, telegrams, dispatches, messages from Allied authorities, reports from military commanders, interdepartmental memoranda, "Magic" intercepts, of which the secretary and undersecretary must have at least some awareness. I was therefore deputed to scan all this torrent of material and to brief Stettinius orally about its highlights—at odd moments between appointments in his office, in his apartment at the Shoreham (where I once had tea with John Maynard Keynes and his Russian ballerina wife), in his bedroom while he was being massaged, in his car going from home to office or elsewhere, slightly breathless at his side as he strode across to the White House at his usual impetuous clip. This responsibility had the consequence that I was probably during the last year of the war one of the best informed individuals in Washington, except about purely military planning.

Other harried executives in and out of the department began to voice the same need as Stettinius for help in keeping abreast of the spinning kaleidoscope of events. Secretary of Treasury Henry Morgenthau had played a considerable part in the conduct of foreign policy before we entered the war but subsequently, to his exasperation, he was elbowed aside. He complained to Stettinius that no one told him anything. To mollify his ire, I was asked to brief him once a week, under the injunction from Stettinius "to tell him something but not too much." Subjected to Morgenthau's sharp questioning each week in his stately chambers in the Treasury building, I found observance of this injunction required considerable ingenuity, but we eventually parted friends. The last time I saw him, fifteen years later, he called at my office in the embassy in Morocco, an old man, a little unsteady on his feet, but still both courteous and inquisitive.

Incidentally, his principal difference with the State Department in 1943-44 had been about the future of Germany, which he wished to divide into several states which would be limited largely to inno-

cent pastoral pursuits. Oddly enough this view was shared by Sumner Welles. However, the prevalent opinion in the department, one with which I agreed and which ultimately prevailed, was that division into a number of states would merely exasperate German nationalism and provide it with a perennial irredentist goal, while "pastoralization" was totally impractical in the twentieth century. I even argued that dividing Germany into "zones of occupation," an exercise then being planned by the European Advisory Committee in London, was likely to break up the country more lastingly and disturbingly than was then imagined. However, the thought of a joint three-power occupation of the whole of Germany gave our military shivers of horror, both as involving an administrative monstrosity and as introducing elements of our gallant allies, the Red Army, as far west as the Rhine.

It may be relevant that at about this time, March 1944, I noted the following in my diary: "I fear that most of the difficulties of the post-war world will arise from the immaturity of the American and Russian peoples, neither of which is ready for the position of world leadership which is being thrust upon them." A little later in May of that year, I wrote that in post-war planning then under way, "altogether too much attention is being paid to the disposition of the enemy states. The really central problem of the next fifty years will be what might be called the intellectual modernization of Russia and China."

On the afternoon of April 12, 1945, Washington was suddenly pervaded by mysterious and dreadful rumors. An uncanny hush descended upon the busy bureaucracy. Stettinius was called to the White House and after a time returned to inform us that the president was dead. This was not entirely unexpected. During the 1944 campaign his speech, as we heard it on the radio, had often been slurred. His photographs in recent months had revealed alarming deterioration. The last time I had seen him, at his fourth Inaugural in January on the back portico of the White House, though his head was

*(Continued on page 42)*



American consulate at Tabriz in 1930.

## *Use of the Consulate at Tabriz for Immoral Purposes*

HENRY S. VILLARD

In a wave of economy following the stock market crash of 1929, the Department of State decided to trim its budget by abolishing a number of posts in the Foreign Service. Among them was the con-

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*Henry S. Villard, Ambassador-retired, writes from Gstaad: "Considering that prudence is the better part of valor, I have given up downhill skiing while I'm still ahead and usually contrive to spend part of the winter in warmer climes, such as Florida, instead. Recently, I contributed first-person articles on the Italian front in World War I to Horizon and Yankee magazines and am now researching museums in Lucerne, Zurich, Paris, London and Washington for a book project related to my old hobby as air-historian." Teheran was Ambassador Villard's first post, as vice consul in charge of the consulate general.*

sulate at Tabriz, Persia—recently in the limelight as the scene of bloody turmoil in the factional strife accompanying the Ayatollah Khomeini's revolution. As the officer in charge of the consulate general in the capital of Teheran, I was instructed early in 1930 to proceed "as soon as practicable" to Tabriz, to haul down the flag, pack up the files and officially close the premises. Little did I know what was in store for me, for the unsuspecting inhabitants of Tabriz and for the prestige of the United States government in the course of this operation.

Designed to serve the needs of a few Presbyterian missionaries and occasional applicants for an immi-

gration visa, the post at Tabriz—tucked away in the northwest corner of the province of Azerbaijan—was so remote from the stream of consciousness in Washington that it seemed to exist in name only, its incumbent the original Forgotten Man. Hardly anyone had heard of Tabriz; there was a story, no doubt apochryphal, to illustrate the point. At the onset of World War I, an officer by the name of Gordon Paddock had been stationed at Tabriz because of its potential value as a listening post close to Russia. There he had remained without leave or transfer for such a long period of time that he appeared consigned to some sort of diplomatic limbo, if not oblivion.

Over the years Paddock was presumed to have done a modicum of consular business; a rumor filtered through that he had been of material aid to harried missionaries caught up in the massacre of Armenians by rampaging Turks, and that in his spare time he had contracted a *mésalliance* with a lady bareback rider from an itinerant Russian circus. But communication with far-away Washington gradually lapsed; for all one knew, Paddock might have been devoting the rest of his life to the proverbial "jug of wine, a loaf of bread and thou." Then, one day, to the mystification of the department, the man turned up in Washington. Nobody recognized him or could remember who he was. Paddock offered to explain. Who was he but the consul at Tabriz? Couldn't be, was the response, we don't have such a place or person on the record.

Be that as it may, I had been given assurances that our consular outpost did indeed exist when the last commissioned officer to serve there, white-haired Augustin W. Ferrin, passed through Teheran on his way to a different, less exotic part of the world. Ferrin, who lived to be over 100 after a varied career, was another legendary figure of the Foreign Service, a bachelor inordinately fond of cats, noted for his top hat and a red-lined opera cloak, acquired in Spain, which he threw melodramatically over his shoulders when setting out to dinner. He had informed me that the office was in good shape and that he had left it in charge of a Persian clerk, a dignified, middle-aged gentleman with a pencil-line moustache named

Hassan Ali Khan, like so many "locals" in the Service a dependable servant of Uncle Sam, loyal to American interests—such as they were in Tabriz—to the last degree. The only other members of the "staff," vouchsafed Ferrin, were two native guards, stalwart men in uniform who took turns spending the night in the consulate so as to afford it protection around the clock; the one thing he neglected to mention—perhaps because he didn't think it important—was that these worthies were long-standing lovers, displaying a versatility of the affections that by all accounts was a not uncommon trait in Persia.

One might have thought that the State Department in its all-seeing wisdom would have spared Tabriz the axe. We had not yet recognized the government of the USSR and the proximity of the post to the Russian-Persian frontier town of Julfa offered a rare opportunity to learn what was going on in the communist paradise. That plenty was going on could be inferred from the many refugees who sought asylum in the realm of Reza Shah Pahlevi, father of the lately deposed and now deceased shah, a monarch wary of offending his great northern neighbor. One had only to look at the Soviet embassy in Teheran, a compound the size of a city block, to realize the threat; it bore a sinister reputation as a place where one might enter but never come out. However, Washington's mind was made up. Tabriz was to be sacrificed on the altar of saving the taxpayers' money, and I prepared to carry out my assignment "as soon as practicable."

In this, the weather was a determining factor. There was no question in those days of stepping into a limousine to be driven to the airport, whence the modern version of a flying carpet would waft you to your destination over the endless barren plains, treacherous gullies and rugged mountains in a couple of hours. Instead, the trip to Tabriz took a couple of days over unspeakable roads, including a stop for the night at the mud-walled, scorpion-ridden town of Mianeh, broiling hot and dusty in summer, mired in mud in winter. I therefore planned to leave shortly after *Now-ruz*, the first day of spring and the first day in the Persian calendar year, when the rains would be almost over, there was less risk of getting bogged down and a delicate green haze might be detected on the willows and poplars screening the few hamlets to be encountered en route.

In an old, hired Chevrolet touring car sporting an American flag on the right front fender, baggage strapped to the running boards, and driven by a wild-looking Kurd whose knowledge of mechanics seemed minimal, I negotiated the journey with no more than the usual hardships—punctures, blow-outs, a broken spring, an overheated engine, missing tools, and the like. I was accompanied by my trustworthy, French-speaking *kavass*, Hossein Agha, a factotum who acted as interpreter, messenger, bodyguard and personal servant, and who would willingly have laid down his life to defend me from the brigands who preyed upon travelers unlucky enough to incur a breakdown. And thanks to his ingenuity, when we ran out of gas the car carried on with the contents of a bottle he poured into its tank: the last dozen miles were covered on *araq*, a potent brandy which doubtless corroded the cylinders of our maltreated motor but got us there nevertheless.

I put up at the only hostelry that bore resemblance to a hotel, and with the assistance of Hassan Ali Khan the following day began the task of sorting files and preparing them for shipment. After a sharp, cold winter the scent of spring was everywhere; the skies were of that pure turquoise hue that can only be found in Persia, and in the consular courtyard a sea of almond blos-

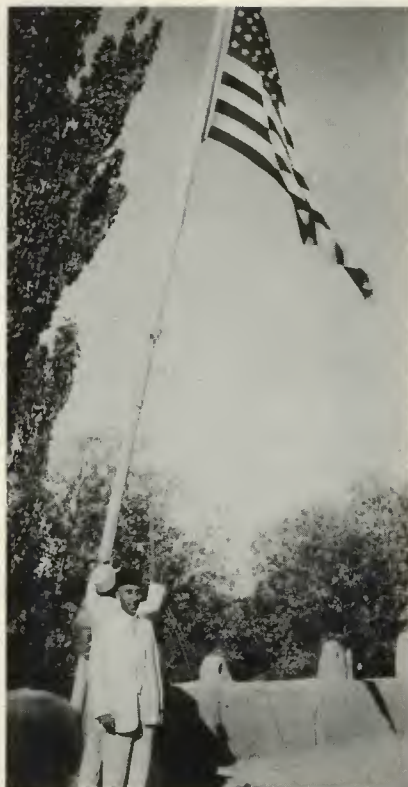


Overnight stop at Mianeh.

soms lent an elusive fragrance to the air. Serenity reigned supreme, broken only by Hassan Ali's lamentations that the flag of the United States of America, which he had served so faithfully and for so long, was about to be lowered forever. As best I could, I explained that "exigencies of the Service" required financial retrenchment, but I could see that he didn't really believe what I was saying. A rich and powerful America had to pinch pennies by terminating its post at Tabriz?

Then one night, the peace was shattered by an episode that shook Tabriz to the core. It seems that the guard who was off duty that particular evening, returning home in the small hours after a convivial session with friends, took it into his head to pass by the consulate and check whether all was well with his long-time comrade. To his surprise, Guard No. 1. heard sounds from within that indicated Guard No. 2 was not alone; what he heard, in fact, was clearly a feminine voice mingling with that of his boy friend. Putting eye to keyhole, No. 1 saw an astonishing—and to him an infuriating—sight: No. 2 engaged in amorous dalliance with a lady teacher of gymnastics, the wife of a respected member of the Armenian community, whose charms had obviously seduced No. 2 into betrayal of his ties to No. 1. Consumed with jealousy, the enraged No. 1 battered down the door and confronted the adulterous pair. Shouts and imprecations broke the stillness of the night, followed by the echo of running feet as the actors in the drama sprinted into the street.

Roused from slumber nearby, Hassan Ali joined the fray, as did the police and awakened neighbors. There ensued a chase through the dim-lit highways and byways of Tabriz that would have done credit to an old two-reeler movie—fleet-footed lady *en déshabillé*, black hair streaming . . . . her startled consort in crime . . . his cuckolded mate . . . our shocked consular clerk . . . the local gendarmerie . . . the retinue of inquisitive bystanders. It ended in the town's steaming *hamam*, or public bath, where the fleeing couple were finally cornered. Dawn was breaking before arguments and recriminations ceased but not before the news of scandal




*Hauling down the flag at Tabriz. Clerk Hassan Ali Khan is in foreground.*

at the American consulate had begun to spread like wildfire across the town. Magnified and distorted by malicious gossip, the embroidered episode found its way into headlines in the press. What kind of an establishment was the United States government running, anyway?

I blushed on behalf of my country. Fortunately, the closing of the consulate put an end to our embarrassment. No public ceremony marked this event; instead, the skeleton staff stood at attention late one afternoon while somebody manipulated the halyards and we watched expectantly for the Stars and Stripes to come down for the last time. But for some reason the lines were hopelessly tangled; it was as if the banner which for years had waved so proudly over the precincts—a symbol of freedom and democracy in a feudal land—flatly refused to descend. No amount of jiggling the ropes seemed to help; nobody volunteered to climb the flagpole and tackle the snarl, no stepladder could be found to facilitate an attempt. It was necessary to chop down the pole and, ignominiously, Old Glory came with it. Bathed in

the last rays of a golden sunset, the consulate was formally closed.

Before *finis* could be written to the history of the post, however, one further rite had to be performed. The department's instructions were specific: the heavy leaden impression seals which had long been used to lend authenticity to documents, had to be destroyed—broken up and "sunk in a deep body of water." A sledge hammer took care of the first part of the instruction; but the nearest body of water, the great lake at Urumiyeh—a lake so salty one could float on the surface and leisurely read a newspaper—lay half a day's journey away. With Hossein Agha lugging a sackful of the mangled emblems, I again climbed into the Chevrolet and drove to the home of a hospitable missionary family. Next morning I borrowed their rowboat and in the middle of the salt-laden waters dropped the bundle overboard. A sigh of satisfaction—mission accomplished. But to my horror, the sack did not sink! Barely awash, it floated off in blatant disregard of government regulations, defying the decree that declared the consulate at Tabriz superfluous. To this day I am haunted by the thought that instead of lying safely submerged at the bottom of Lake Urumiyeh, the fragments are still adrift like a water-logged Flying Dutchman, waiting to be picked up and pieced together by Soviet spies or other unauthorized hands.

There remained only to write a report on completion of my assignment. Tongue in cheek, I described each incident in dead-pan bureaucratic style, under the title "Use of the Consulate at Tabriz for Immoral Purposes." Back in Washington, I was told the despatch relieved some of the solemnity in official circles and was read at the highest level in the department. Secretary of State Cordell Hull, who liked to begin the onerous duties of the day with something in lighter than accustomed vein if possible, was given it to read as an early morning appetizer. The secretary's comments, it appears, were not recorded. 

*Author's note: World events eventually forced the reopening of the Tabriz consulate, only to have it closed again when revolutionary sentiment made that necessary.*

# Post Offices Remembered

ELIZABETH E. MCNEILL

During my years in the Foreign Service I became a prolific letter writer. Almost every day I deposited a fat envelope in the embassy mail room on the way to my desk. Letters were my lifeline home, and a link with friends left behind in parts of the world where my past had been parceled out in two-year lots. While traveling between posts and while on holidays I always felt uneasy until I had located the post office nearest to my hotel. Even if I couldn't speak the language, I never felt like a foreigner in a post office.

Having grown up in a small town where the post office was the people's gathering place during a crisis or times of stress, where they shared news from loved ones during World War II and comforted one another, I remember the post office better than the corner drug store and its ice cream sodas.

Small branch post offices in Paris and London still stand out in my memory, but the one I remember best is the one in Calcutta.

While serving in New Delhi I met Maya Sen. We soon became good friends and corresponded faithfully after I left India. Twelve years later I went to visit her in Calcutta.

The morning after I arrived I gathered the letters I had written on the plane from Tehran and asked Maya where I could find the post office.

"It's just across the street." She offered to go with me, but I told her I preferred to go alone for the experience.

After the bright sun it was cool

*Elizabeth McNeill retired from government service in 1970 after having served with the Foreign Service (FSS and FSR) in Afghanistan, Pakistan, India, Senegal and Colombia. She has been studying writing since then and her short story, "Manuel's Son," appeared in the Journal in 1977.*

and dark inside and empty, except for a clerk behind the counter. Absorbed in filling in a form, he didn't notice me. While waiting for his attention I had a chance to study him. He was a Bengali, short, slight and dark-skinned. His thick glasses kept sliding down his long sharp nose. He pushed them back with the regularity and rhythm of a nervous tick. After counting out loud on his fingers he wrote down a number and looked at it for a long time while scratching his balding head. He was completely lost in his work.

From the high ceiling a precariously-hanging fan whirred as it wobbled, struggling to stir the air, which smelled faintly of sandalwood. The cracked plaster walls supported a few yellowing notices in Bengali and a big colored poster of a happy family of four; obvious birth control propaganda. The clock had stopped at nine twenty on some forgotten day or night. I smiled to myself, remembering a clock I'd once seen in a south Indian railway station. Underneath it was a notice on a blackboard: "This clock is \_\_\_\_ minutes late, \_\_\_\_ minutes early." I've always wondered why it wouldn't have been just as easy to adjust the clock as to fill in the correct blank. But perhaps it was a delicate clock, or maybe the key had been lost.

I opened my handbag and took out the letters. When it snapped shut the clerk's head shot back with such force his glasses almost slid off his nose. He blinked at me, pushed his spectacles back over his eyes and continued staring as though his mind hadn't registered the sight of a foreign woman towering above him on the other side of the counter.

"Hello," I said, smiling.

"Good morning," he answered

in a squeaky voice as if his English had rusted from lack of use.

"I would like stamps for these." I handed him the letters.

He studied them, then quickly glanced at me with wide eyes and scurried into the back room.

Looking down at the counter, I was touched by the frugality of his working tools; old-fashioned stick pen with a bent nib, gum eraser worn to a scrap, drying inkwell, rusty scissors anchored to the counter by a dirty string, and a wooden ruler with time-and-use-obliterated numbers.

The hum of voices in the back room subsided and the clerk returned, flanked by a fat woman in a bright orange sari and another man, dressed as he was in a white muslin kurta and flowing pajama trousers. They stood, like three elves in a row, smiling up at me. It was my turn to feel embarrassed, wondering what I'd done wrong.

"You're Miss Elizabeth," the woman said softly, the way one would speak to a ghost.

"Yes," I answered, feeling more at ease.

But then there came an awkward silence through which their smiles remained like happy masks with betel-nutstained teeth.

I made a move to open my billfold, hoping it would break the spell.

"Maya told us you were coming." The clerk said, excitement raising his voice to a high pitch. His black eyes looked grotesque through thick-lensed glasses.

"You came all the way from Persia just to see Maya." The woman couldn't have been more amazed if I'd crossed the seven seas. "What a great fortune to have such a good friend."

Before I could speak, the clerk started telling me how my letters from all over the world had inspired him to begin a stamp collection. Maya had shared the stamps from my letters with him.

"I was very sorry to hear about your car accident in Bogotá. Are your wrists all right now?"

"Uh. Oh yes thank you," I answered, looking down at my hands. I'd completely forgotten about the accident. It had happened over four years ago.

And then he spoke of how brave

(Continued on page 41)

# Association News

## Annual Report

### ANNUAL REPORT

In addition to the overall view of the Association's activities given in the July/August issue, special reports were prepared for the annual meeting on July 16. These reports are printed in Association News for the benefit of those unable to attend.

### AID NEWS

#### IDCA High Level Appointments

Once again the "armchairs in the sky" crowd are overlooking the highly qualified Foreign Service Reserve cadre by advertising for two Senior Executive Service people to fill senior level jobs. The AID Standing Committee wrote to management protesting these senior recruitments and at this writing has not received a reply. It was pointed out that the continued recruitment of non-Foreign Service people for these senior policy positions in IDCA would only serve to reinforce its irrelevancy to the development process.

#### Recruitment for Director of SER/MO

The Director of SER/MO is a Foreign Service designated slot under the Obey Amendment. At present, the position is encumbered in an acting capacity by a non-Foreign Service Reserve officer. The Standing Committee has twice written to AID management to inform them that the appointment of a non-Foreign Service Reserve to this position would be considered an affront to the many qualified management officers in AID and a clear violation of the Obey Amendment and its implementing regulations.

#### Foreign Service Staff

As a result of AFSA's intervention with management the Project Design and Evaluation course has been opened up to Foreign Service Staff.

### TREASURER'S REPORT—LARRY INGRAM

*The General Fund:* The budget table presented as part of this report shows the actual receipts and disbursements from the General Fund during FY 1980, ending June 30, and the budget for FY 1981.

The FY 1981 budget projects a 25 percent increase in membership dues as a result of the first full year of operations since the dues increase in March 1980. Revenues from the Club and *Journal* are budgeted to remain consistent with the prior year.

The proposed FY 1981 budget reflects an increase in administrative salaries of \$31,000. This increase is due to expanded member services by additional full time personnel as well as increased costs due to inflation and higher payroll taxes.

Revenue from operation of the

Club is expected to make a small profit in FY 1981. The Club was reorganized in late 1980 and the benefits of the reorganization are expected to be reflected in FY 1981. The salary and production costs of the *Journal* are expected to be covered by advertising and subscription revenue of \$7.50 from the dues of each member and from non-member subscriptions.

AFSA continues to operate on a tight cash flow basis in accordance with the policy of expanding services to members as the availability of resources allows. The overall financial condition of the Association is sound, with a net fund equity of \$550,000, most of which is accounted for by the equity accrued in the headquarters building.

#### AFSA GENERAL FUNDS Receipts and Disbursements Actual FY 1980\*\*Proposed FY 1981

RECEIPTS	Actual FY 1980	Proposed FY 1981
Members dues	\$263,000	\$340,000 <sup>a</sup>
Club receipts	130,000	130,000 <sup>b</sup>
Journal advertising revenue	60,000	60,000
Reimbursements	26,000	26,000
Total receipts	\$479,000	\$556,000
DISBURSEMENTS		
Administrative salaries	142,000	178,000 <sup>c</sup>
Club expenses (incl. salaries)	130,000	127,000 <sup>b</sup>
Journal publication expense	101,000	107,000 <sup>d</sup>
Operations	74,000	84,000 <sup>d</sup>
Building occupancy	43,000	55,000 <sup>d</sup>
Total disbursements	\$490,000	\$551,000
Reserve for member services	(\$11,000)	\$ 5,000

See explanatory notes attached

#### AFSA General Funds Explanatory Notes

- <sup>a</sup> Dues income based on projection of present membership levels by category of member and income level.
- <sup>b</sup> Estimated club income and expenses based on daily sales of \$550 to \$600, food and beverage costs of 28%, labor 48%, and other direct costs of 18%.
- <sup>c</sup> Administrative salaries are on the basis of full year projections of staffing and salary levels, adopted in the past fiscal year, with provision for a 10 percent COL increase. (The Governing Board has directed that AFSA staff salaries be adjusted for COL at the same rate and effective date as in the Federal Government. Rather than a 10 percent increase, the probable COL adjustment will be a 6.3 percent.)
- <sup>d</sup> Estimated *Journal* publication expenses reflect anticipated increases in the cost of paper and printing.  
Increase in operations makes provision for expanded internal communications and a continuing rise in operating costs.  
Increase in building occupancy reflects a rise in maintenance costs.

## TERRORISM AND THE FOREIGN SERVICE

CONGRESSMAN FRANK HORTON

In November of 1979, Americans learned with shock and disbelief of the takeover of the American embassy in Teheran and the taking of 53 embassy personnel by Iranian militants. For more than six months both the US and our allies abroad have been seeking to win the release of the illegally held Americans. This dramatic event, perhaps more than any other in our recent past, has served notice both to us and to the international community that diplomatic personnel no longer enjoy protection from wanton attacks. While the crisis in Iran rightfully stands out as the most blatant example of an illegal act against American diplomat personnel, it might be helpful to place the Iranian hostage situation in the broader perspective of US diplomatic history.

From statistics compiled by the American Foreign Service Association (an organization of over 11,000 men and women who serve in our embassies and consulates overseas), the decade 1970-1979 was unprecedented for the level of ferocity of attacks on US personnel and installations abroad. Consider the following acts of violence: 14 US officials, including five ambassadors, were murdered—an average of one death every 260 days; 38 kidnappings for an average of one every 96 days; 32 wounded personnel or one serious injury every 114 days; and 208 attacks on either Americans or our installations in 43 countries—an average of one terrorist event every 17 and ½ days.

The incidences of violence during the last decade are staggering, particularly when compared to the record compiled since the founding of the US. In the diplomatic lobby of the State Department building in Washington, you will see two plaques in memory of those Americans who have given their lives in foreign or diplomatic service. The first plaque begins with 1780 and was not filled until 1967. The second plaque (which continues with 1969) is now 2/3 full. In other words, in the 13 years between

1967 and 1980, we have lost as many as we did in the first 180 years of our nation's existence. The alarming growth of these statistics certainly suggests the need to improve the protection of sensitive and vulnerable US installations overseas.

Last April, the State Department began a program to bolster protection of American diplomats and installations overseas. In that regard, the department requested sufficient funds to survey 15 posts in politically troubled regions, especially the Middle East and Central America. Because of our concern, we in the Congress have not only been receptive to the State Department's requests, but have also been conducting our own studies of overseas protection, which for the most part, complement State Department proposals.

Under a program approved by the Congress, with my support, the State Department has begun a three-year \$60 million program to upgrade protection of American embassies and consulates abroad. This program will include stronger measures to control public access to embassy grounds and buildings, installation of escape hatches inside embassies and the establishment of "burn" rooms for the destruction of classified material. These and other measures which are in the process of being perfected will improve the security of our facilities overseas.

The takeover of our embassy in Iran, however, points out that no embassy can withstand an assault sanctioned or tolerated by a host government. Therefore, it is vitally important that traditional diplomatic protections be reaffirmed and assurances be given that personnel stationed overseas will be protected. Without such assurances, international diplomacy will continue to be vulnerable to acts of violence and terrorism. We cannot allow the Iranian hostage situation to be replayed in other capitals around the world.

## Annual Report

### ICA STANDING COMMITTEE

*Chairman:* Fred Shaver. *Members:* Michael Canning; James Findlay; Jean Mammen; Marilyn McAfee; James McHale; John Katzka.

The past year has seen a continuing deterioration in morale at USICA, where a Civil Service union has been unable to meet the unique demands of the Foreign Service it nominally represents. While we were in touch with the agency's director to state our concerns about the assignment of non-essential personnel to highly dangerous posts, for example, AFGE was asking the agency to check the security in its Washington buildings. The FSIO corps seems to benefit equally from provisions of the Foreign Service Act, and AFSA's Governing Board continues to work USICA needs and requests into the decision-making process that ultimately affects all Foreign Service personnel.

### IDCA RECOGNIZES AFSA

The recent establishment of the Trade and Development Program (TDP) within IDCA, and the transfer of AID's Reimbursement Development Program (RDP) functions and personnel to the TDP raised questions concerning the status of AID Foreign Service personnel assigned to IDCA. Therefore, IDCA and AFSA concluded an agreement on July 30, 1980 which a) recognizes AFSA as the exclusive bargaining representative for all Foreign Service personnel within IDCA and b) guarantees the retention of "all protections, rights and benefits" of AID Foreign Service employees assigned to IDCA. They shall remain in the IDCA/AID personnel system and continue to be subject to all the incidents thereof, including use of the personnel evaluation report utilized for AID Foreign Service personnel and competition for promotion with other AID employees. The agreement also states that AID positions designated as Foreign Service pursuant to the Obey Amendment will not be redesignated upon reassignment to any other organizational unit within IDCA except in accordance with regulations issued pursuant to the Obey Amendment.

### AID STANDING COMMITTEE

*Chairman:* Jonathan L. Sperling.  
*Members:* Frank Dimond; Alex McKinnon; Ron Nicholson; Jim Singletary; Brian Wickland; Joan Jacob; Larry Ingram.

The major activities of the AID Standing Committee during the past year have centered on assuring management's compliance with the letter and spirit of the Obey Amendment and working on AID-related aspects of the Foreign Service Act of 1980. The following were some of the major actions the Standing Committee undertook:

- Worked with the Position Designation Committee to assure that all policy-making jobs in Washington were designated for FS incumbency. Partially as a result of AFSA's doggedness on this matter, over 800 AID/W jobs have been reserved for FSRs.
- Management has consistently and, on occasion, flagrantly made efforts to circumvent the Obey Amendment to protect friends and favorites in the Washington GS cadre. Elaborate and often transparent quasi-legal ruses have been used to place GS employees in FS jobs. The Standing Committee is prepared to use the full range of legal tools at its disposal to end these destructive practices on the part of management. It's our feeling that the continuation of such actions dilutes the effectiveness of our Foreign Aid Program by putting our positions in the hands of inexperienced officers.
- The Standing Committee convinced management that promotions should not be assigned solely by back-stop code and by doing so prevented the reappearance of backroom bargaining in the assignment process.
- AID/AFSA strongly and successfully pushed for the restitution of the funds for home leave and language training during the illusory fiscal crisis of late winter/early spring.
- AID/AFSA has been lobbying hard against the proposed Section 501 (b) of the FS Act of 1980 which would reverse the position designation presumptions of the Obey Amendment.
- Letters have been sent to management calling to their attention

that a number of high level positions in Washington were being filled by overgraded GS employees rather than by qualified FS employees.

- AID/AFSA has repeatedly complained to management about its practice of hiring trainees at the R-2 and R-3 level, which deprives many deserving officers of promotions and job opportunities. Management has put forward no logical reason for this practice. While we hope that our representations have kept management from hiring some of their overgraded candidates we are disappointed that they have not recognized the damaging effects on US foreign policy of these profligate hiring policies.

- AID/AFSA membership is today at its highest point in well over a year.

- IDCA: The Standing Committee has viewed with great sadness the emerging irrelevance of our new "parent" with a plethora of overgraded special appointments and a lack of clear mandate or *raison d'être*. IDCA is beginning to appear to be more of a burden than a benefit. The lack of foreign service development experience in IDCA has become painfully evident in their approach to policy. The Standing Committee intends to follow IDCA affairs closely over the next few months and will report on this subject to the membership.

Much remains to be done and the above list is only illustrative of the activities undertaken in the last year. The Standing Committee continues to need assistance in all areas and would welcome any members who would wish to become more active.

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#### From the Board

#### LETTERS

We'd like to emphasize here that we appreciate letters from members. We can do more and reflect members' interests better if we hear your views. Write on.

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**JOIN AFSA**  
(OR ENCOURAGE OTHERS TO JOIN)

### ICA NEWS

An FSIO currently assigned to a Class B post objected, without success, to the AFGE-negotiated precepts for the Generalist Selection Boards of USICA. He has warned the Agency that if the precepts for the coming year contain the same language, he will pursue his case more vigorously.

The language he objects to is found in Circular 43D and 43F of August 30, 1979, which states in regard to Boards C, D and E: "It must be assumed that a limited number of assignments to larger posts cannot provide an officer experience equal to that of the officer who has been assigned to a mixture of larger and smaller posts in diverse geographic regions." He maintains, correctly, that this language prejudices the case of those officers serving primarily in larger posts in one geographic area—not by choice, but because of the assignment process. When the FSIO was able to locate an AFGE representative who had some knowledge of the case, he was told, in essence, that in negotiating the precepts one gives something here to gain something elsewhere.

Those FSIOs with an interest in the wording of the precepts should make every effort to make their views known to the Agency.

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### CLAUDE HALL RETIRES

Claude H. Hall, Jr. has retired from his position as the assistant secretary-treasurer of the American Foreign Service Protective Association effective June 15, 1980. J. F. Donelan, Jr. has taken over from Claude on an acting basis until such time as the Board of Directors can select another permanent assistant secretary-treasurer.

Mr. Hall was the third officer to fill this position. Harry Havens was the first assistant secretary-treasurer of the Association, 1929-1950; George Butler 1950-1960; and Claude Hall 1960-1980.

Claude retired from the Foreign Service in December 1959 after serving 35 years. His posts included Johannesburg, Naples, Trinidad, London, Warsaw, Lyons and Durban.

**MEMBERS' INTEREST COMMITTEE**

*Chairman:* Tom Macklin. *Members:* William Burke; Stuart Neilson; John Pitts; Nancy Tumavick; Brian Wickland; Tim Roddy. *Coordinator:* Sabine Sisk.

The committee responded to numerous "help" signals from AFSA chapters and individual members. It solved many problems and concerns on the spot through informal talks with management; "sticky" problems like disputes over claims, delayed shipments, loss of HHEs and denied benefits required continuous, sometimes frustrating and not always successful negotiations. It assisted with tax questions, interpreted regulations and answered routine correspondence. It pushed for increased educational allowances, investigated potential health hazards in the department and overseas, looked into the operations of several schools at the request of concerned parent groups and kept a close watch on emerging problems with the increased number of evacuations.

The committee involved itself in a number of consultations and negotiations with management over broad issues affecting morale and well-being:

**Housing Policy:** The department's controversial Housing Policy, issued last year without prior discussion or negotiation with AFSA, caused a furor and resulted in a battery of protest cables from the field. Management belatedly entered into discussion with AFSF after we threatened to bring an Unfair Labor Practice suit. The most important concessions by management were the addition of an appeals process for employees and the requirement that posts establish housing boards (A-0564 of March 20, 1980 states revised Housing Policy).

**Fly America Act:** Members' Interests Committee was a major force in changing 6 FAM 134 concerning American-flag travel. The changes eliminated many of the — at times outrageous—inconveniences experienced by employees. For instance, there is no longer a 48-hour wait requirement for TDY travelers (to maximize use of

American-flag travel). Also, overseas travelers may now choose foreign-flag services in instances where use of a US airline would necessitate indirect travel with one or more changes of planes. Other positive changes affect rest stops, night flying and "bumped" passengers.

**Parcel Pouch Privileges:** Employees and dependents are now entitled to ship/receive up to 25 pounds of foodstuff via pouch. The department had originally planned to limit the weight to 10 pounds and AFSA successfully negotiated the increase.

Current projects include:

**Administrative Leave:** We are consulting with management on additions to administrative leave regulations that would guarantee employees up to three days excused absences for the packing/unpacking of HHEs.

**Medical Benefits:** Increase of benefits has been discussed with M/MED and we are currently preparing a "package" of proposals (such as dental care, additional benefits during medical evacuations, dependent care expense reimbursements).

**Travel for Children of Divorced Parents:** An increasingly important issue that the committee continues to look into. AFSA won inclusion of a provision on this issue in the new Foreign Service Act.

**Home Leave Tax Issue:** The deductibility of home leave expenses has been decided in favor of the taxpayer in the Fourth and Ninth Circuits. Nonetheless, the IRS has refused to acquiesce in their rulings and continues to deny home leave expenses as valid deductions. We have joined with the Thomas Legal Defense Fund in sponsoring an appeal of an adverse ruling in such a case to the US Circuit Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia. If the present case is won the IRS is likely to accede, in keeping with its practice of acquiescing upon decisions adverse to it in three circuits.

If you are interested in bringing about positive changes in the Foreign Service, please sign up or join us.

**RETIRED INTERESTS**

*Spencer King, Charles Whitehouse  
Coordinator: Robert Beers*

AFSA has joined forces with 24 other federal employee and retiree groups in an effort to resist the extension of Social Security coverage to federal workers and to preserve the present federal retirement structure, especially as it applied to the Foreign Service Retirement and Disability system. This coalition is known as the Fund for Assuring an Independent Retirement (FAIR) and it speaks for several million public employees throughout the United States. FAIR is also exerting its efforts to retain the semi-annual COLA; Through active participation in FAIR, AFSA is doing every thing possible to represent the interests of the Foreign Service, both active and retired, whenever changes in the retirement system are under consideration.

Over the past year we have seen several developments that could portend basic changes in the federal government's retirement system. First came the report of the Universal Social Security Coverage Study Group which was transmitted to the Congress in March 1980 by the Secretary of HEW. Following along in May was the interim report of the President's Commission on Pension Policy, while on Capitol Hill the Budget Committees of both Houses recommended that the semi-annual cost-of-living-adjustment (COLA) applied to federal retirement annuities be cut to one a year.

The two study groups stopped short of definite recommendations but there appears to be a growing sentiment in many quarters to extend Social Security coverage to all workers not now covered under the system, of whom federal employees constitute one of the largest blocks. While there was not time for this question to be addressed by the 96th Congress, it seems certain to find a place on the legislative agenda of the 97th Congress which convenes in January 1981.

**From the Board**

**MOVED? MOVING?**

Please let us know your new address. If you're coming to Washington get in touch with us—become active in the Association, your Association.

STATE STANDING COMMITTEE

*Chairman:* Thea de Rouville.  
*Members:* Kenneth W. Bleakley; Galen Fox; Robert Stern; Joseph N. McBride; Matthew Daley; Kenneth Hill; Philip McLean; Robert Franks; Dennis Hays; Kathleen Austin.

The Committee has primary responsibility for State Department issues under Executive Order 11636 and internal AFSA business. This year the Committee:

- negotiated a new Efficiency Report Form for all State Department employees;
  - negotiated 1980 precepts;
  - commented on candidates and composition for 1980 Selection Boards;
  - negotiated Precepts for Performance Standards Board and Special Review Board;
  - negotiated changes in Excursion Tour agreement;
  - negotiated Alternate Career Planning Modules and Seminars.
- We are currently:
- discussing a senior threshold program, upward mobility for Staff Corps;
  - trying to nail down with management the personnel policies connected with the trade reorganization;
  - negotiating on premium pay for standby duty for communicators;
  - consulting on changes in the

regulations governing the Career Candidate Program.

During the past year the State Standing Committee has spent a great deal of time working as an arm of the Governing Board with management and with Congress in assuring that the proposed Foreign Service Act, and its companion, Pay Comparability, in final form, deal effectively with the interests and problems and needs of the Foreign Service, and in ensuring that implementation is smooth and fair. One of our particular concerns has been the conversion, or possible conversion of domestic FSRs to GS under the new Act, ensuring that if this is done, it is done equitably. Another has been protecting the interests of the Staff Corps.

The Office of Security has taken up a great deal of the Standing Committee's attention, and we have negotiated, or are in the process of negotiating, many improvements in their working and professional conditions.

Finally, the State Standing Committee acts as general watchdog over State management policies and practices, reporting on developments to the Governing Board and taking action to protect or extend the interests and rights of State Department employees as necessary.

PACKING/UNPACKING HHES

After receiving several complaints from the field and from employees stationed in Washington who were requested to take annual leave for packing/unpacking HHES, AFSA took the initiative and proposed regulations that enable employees to take administrative leave up to 16 working hours for packing and 8 working hours for unpacking. Negotiations with management have been concluded. The new regulation went into effect on August 7, 1980 and reads as follows:

**3 FAM 465.3 p.:** A supervisor may excuse an employee to be present at his or her residence for a period not to exceed 16 work hours for packing, and 8 work-hours for unpacking, when required in connection with the employee's permanent transfer abroad, from one post

to another, from abroad to an assignment in the United States, or between domestic assignments located more than 100 miles apart. Absence for this purpose in excess of the periods specified above must be charged to annual leave or leave without pay.

HELP WANTED

For a doctoral dissertation on National Intelligence Estimates I would like to contact former military and civilian professionals who participated in drafting, reviewing or approving NIEs. Of particular interest are those people who served in military intelligence branches, the Office of National Estimates or on the National Security Council staff. Please contact: Daniel Flamberg, 220 West 93rd Street, New York, N.Y. 10025.

FOREIGN SERVICE ACT

On August 6, AFSA President Bleakley cabled a progress report on the Foreign Service Act to all posts. This cable covered the actions of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee in reporting out the bill on August 5. Floor action in both Senate and House is expected after the convention recess.

The cable enumerated the differences between the Senate and House bills as follows:

- deletion of explicit pay linkages and substitution of strong language in support of full pay parity, including special consideration for the Staff Corps.
- deletion of Section 501 (B) which would create a presumption against Foreign Service designation of some jobs in Washington, particularly in AID.
- adoption of proposals for greatly enhanced career development training and language programs.
- adoption of requirements for reports on professional qualifications of ambassadorial nominees.
- adoption of the Schroeder amendment granting divorced spouses rights to shares of survivor benefits and annuities.
- adoption of AFSA proposal that retirees employed by the federal government could receive current salary of grade at which they retired in combined salary and annuity, rather than present limit based on salary at retirement.
- adoption of chapter 11 grievance provisions with additional guarantees of due process and removal of requirement that exclusive employee representative represent all grievants.

The Committee failed to take up, for lack of time, the AFSA-proposed amendment (Sec. 607 B) offered in the House by Representative Herb Harris. This amendment would assure that retention of senior officers would be based strictly on determination of selection boards.

The cable closed with the remark, "We are reasonably confident that, if the Service continues to remain united and to avoid dissolution into special interest groups, we will succeed in delivering the bill sought by those we represent."

## SURVEY REPORT

### SECTION I. FOREIGN SERVICE ACT

1. Are you familiar with the provisions of the proposed Foreign Service Act?  
600 Yes, somewhat  
234 Yes, but only slightly  
120 Yes, thoroughly  
40 Not at all
2. Have you read any of the summaries AFSA has prepared on the Act?  
799 Yes  
134 No
3. Which provision(s) of the Act do you consider best?  
441 Pay comparability  
181 Allowances  
37 Simplified classification system  
31 Retention of separate Foreign Service  
20 Limited Non-Career Appointments  
21 Role & Structure  
18 Provisions for Senior Foreign Service  
15 Safeguards  
11 Age 65 Mandatory Retirement  
2 Education allowances for children of divorced parents; 1 Step increases; 1 Staff Corps improvements; 1 Hazard pay
4. Which provision(s) of the Act do you like least or consider of least value?  
160 Senior Foreign Service  
71 Age 65 mandatory retirement  
28 Role and Structure  
17 Pay and Allowances  
15 Staff Corps interests  
11 Spouse Annuity  
3 Safeguards; 3 Affirmative Action; 3 State taking over ICA; 1 Selection Out Process; 1 FSR/FSO Inequities; 1 Merit Pay
5. Do you have any specific recommendations for improvement of the Act?  
11 Eliminate SFS provisions  
9 Keep retirement at age 60  
8 More staff benefits/opportunities  
4 Keep retirement without any age limitations  
1 Pass pay provisions separately
6. Are there any specific concerns you and others in your agency or employment category feel should be addressed in this Bill which are not or need be?  
7 Promotions  
5 Staff Corps neglect  
5 Act is unnecessary  
4 FSR/FSO inequities  
3 SFS Limitations  
2 Extra compensation for overseas assignments  
2 Paid overtime for FSOs  
1 Selection Out Process  
1 Put State/ICA CMs in one "pool"

- 1 Retirement benefits should not be in Act
7. On balance, do you believe that this Bill is in the best interest of the Foreign Service and the people who comprise it?  
477 Yes  
279 Not sure  
154 No

### SECTION II. FOREIGN SERVICE INTERESTS

8. What do you believe is the most important problem facing the Foreign Service at present?  
395 Morale, Esprit de Corps, Professionalism  
165 Diminishing authority over Foreign Policy  
104 Low Pay  
64 Terrorism, Security, Danger  
52 Assignments Process  
38 Affirmative Action  
34 Lack of promotions  
34 Political appointments  
23 Bureaucracy  
18 Recruiting  
17 Fragmentation of Agencies  
13 Spouse Employment (lack of—overseas)  
11 Unwillingness to go overseas  
6 Family needs; 3 Lack of benefits; 2 Concern over hostages; 2 Recognizing AID as part of FS; 2 Staff Corps neglect; 1 Too many political officers; 1 Commerce taking over FS functions
9. Are you seriously considering leaving the Foreign Service?  
473 No  
457 Yes  
42 Maybe/not answered
10. If yes, why?  
125 Pay, Benefits, Allowances  
101 Lack of promotions  
91 Morale, Esprit de Corps, Professionalism  
59 Lifestyle, Dangers  
57 Lowered FS Standards  
56 Too much bureaucracy/poor, too much management  
56 Retirement (approaching)  
26 Spouse employment (lack of—overseas)  
25 Assignments Process  
25 Fragmentation of Agencies  
18 Second class treatment for staff  
17 Outside career opportunities  
15 Recruitment/retention of professionals  
9 Lack of job satisfaction; 8 Poor FS image in US and overseas; 7 Affirmative Action; 3 Hostage situation in Iran

Questions 11 to 16:

The following is a listing of topics of concern to members of the Foreign Service, rated according to the degree of importance:

	High	Medium	Low	Total Points 3-2-1 System																					
1. Recognition of Staff Corps contributions	537	413	117	2554	18. Generally speaking, do you and your family feel more or less safe than you do in the Washington, D.C. area? 243 Less 236 More 235 About the same																				
2. Danger Allowance	702	167	59	2499																					
3. Cost of Living Allowance	648	238	52	2472	19. What kind of threats or potential dangers do you believe are currently present at post—that is, are real possibilities? 449 Housebreakings 426 Burglary 246 Street crime 243 Mob violence 161 War (including civil war) 156 Natural Disasters 5 Terrorism; 1 Attacks on kids																				
4. Hardship Allowance	609	258	64	2407																					
5. Mid-career admissions standards	553	302	92	2355																					
6. Protection of Annuities from inroads by Social Security	649	167	45	2326																					
7. Protection of Age 50 Retirement Annuity	602	220	74	2320																					
8. Pay Parity for Mid-Level, Junior Officers and Staff	561	282	59	2306	20. Do you believe that current security arrangements at your post are adequate? 415 Yes 244 No																				
9. Pay Parity for Secretaries and Communicators	571	246	57	2262																					
10. Assignments Process	487	340	103	2244																					
11. Physical Security at Post	522	266	128	2226	<b>SECTION IV. ASSOCIATION ACTIVITIES</b>																				
12. Review of non-career nominations for policy positions	454	346	154	2208	22. In order to keep its members informed, AFSA sends out information in several different ways. With what frequency do you read the following: <table border="1" style="margin-left: 20px;"> <thead> <tr> <th></th> <th>Regularly</th> <th>Occasionally</th> <th>Do not read</th> <th>Do not receive</th> </tr> </thead> <tbody> <tr> <td>F. S. Journal</td> <td>664</td> <td>193</td> <td>12</td> <td>58</td> </tr> <tr> <td>AFSA Telegrams</td> <td>536</td> <td>247</td> <td>21</td> <td>80</td> </tr> <tr> <td>AFSA "Redtops"</td> <td>416</td> <td>170</td> <td>24</td> <td>296</td> </tr> </tbody> </table>		Regularly	Occasionally	Do not read	Do not receive	F. S. Journal	664	193	12	58	AFSA Telegrams	536	247	21	80	AFSA "Redtops"	416	170	24	296
	Regularly	Occasionally	Do not read	Do not receive																					
F. S. Journal	664	193	12	58																					
AFSA Telegrams	536	247	21	80																					
AFSA "Redtops"	416	170	24	296																					
13. Employment for Spouses	484	267	200	2186																					
14. Entry Level Admission Standards	469	314	139	2174																					
15. Promotion/Selection Out precepts	460	331	124	2166	23. What is your main source of news about AFSA and its activities? 626 AFSA Telegrams 592 Foreign Service Journal 87 Post Representative 29 Bureau Keyperson/Representative 8 Other (including Redtops)																				
16. Better schooling for dependents	480	300	123	2163																					
17. Career Development proposals	427	380	109	2150																					
18. Tax exemption for home leave expenses	473	307	112	2145																					
19. Medical Services Overseas	446	352	102	2144	24. Do you know who the AFSA keyperson/representative is at your post or in your bureau? 625 Yes 272 No																				
20. Housing regulations	404	371	159	2113																					
21. Education	370	370	180	2030																					
22. Separate Maintenance	340	381	222	2004																					
23. Travel	358	364	196	1998	25. If yes, have you recently discussed AFSA matters with him/her? 401 Yes 386 No																				
24. Training	333	394	209	1996																					
25. Answering critics of the Foreign Service	287	441	225	1968																					
End of questions 11 to 16.					26. Are there AFSA Chapter meetings at your post or in your bureau? 289 Never 207 Don't know 188 Occasionally 176 Rarely 62 Regularly																				
17. What employee benefits, if any, currently not included in the Foreign Service package do you think should be adopted?					27. Are AFSA telegrams posted at your post or in your bureau? 512 Yes 225 No 151 Don't know																				
32 Increased educational travel (includes travel for dependents of divorced parents)																									
11 Increased allowances																									
10 Standby pay																									
10 Increased insurance coverage (includes car & dental insurance)																									
5 More frequent COLA surveys; 2 Increased post differential; 1 Guaranteed staff training																									

**SECTION III. SECURITY (For those at posts abroad)**

28. If yes, where?  
Bulletin Boards
29. What specific things do you think AFSA could do to keep members better informed?
- 32 More direct mailing
  - 17 Publish more members' letters in the Journal
  - 13 More telegrams (shorter, more to the point)
  - 11 More Redtops
  - 3 More bulletin boards
30. Given increased revenue through dues, AFSA can add one professional staff person for approximately each 300 new members. Should membership increase, which position do you think should be filled first?
- 486 Congressional/public relations specialist
  - 232 Specialist to deal with Staff Corps (75 from Staff Corps)
  - 77 Another attorney
  - 59 Another grievance counselor
31. Would you support or oppose amendments to the AFSA Bylaws which would:
- a) Establish staggered terms of office for the Governing Board to avoid a complete turnover every two years?
    - 799 Support
    - 80 Oppose
  - b) Establish separate representatives for the Staff Corps on the Governing Board as now exist for State, AID, ICA and Retired?
    - 616 Support
    - 249 Oppose
32. As you know, AFSA functions as both a professional organization and a union. Would you prefer to be represented by an organization which is solely a labor union such as an affiliate of the AFL-CIO or the Teamsters, or do you believe the current kind of representation serves the Foreign Service best?
- 726 Prefer current representation
  - 191 Prefer only labor union
  - 15 Prefer only professional association
33. For Foreign Service personnel who are *not* currently members of AFSA: Are there any specific reasons why you are not a member of AFSA:
- AFSA has no interest in Staff Corps
  - AFSA is ineffective
  - AFSA is too expensive (non-members get services anyhow)
  - AFSA is a company union
- (Total Number of Surveys Tabulated—1,131)

## EDITORIAL (from page 9)

### Association Activities

We were glad to see that almost all respondents reported reading AFSA telegrams and the *Journal*, at least occasionally. Several people noted that we tend to go into too much detail. The Board will make greater use of summaries to overcome this difficulty though many members seek the full details on items of particular interest to them.

Fifty seven percent of the respondents placed highest priority on our hiring a full time congressional/public relations specialist. Twenty eight percent favored a specialist to deal with Staff Corps concerns. We agree—now find us 600 new members so we can afford to fill both these positions.

Only six percent favored hiring another grievance counselor. This is consistent with grievance representation ranking 28th on the list of priorities and not being mentioned at all in conjunction with the Foreign Service Act. Nonetheless, the Board remains committed to meeting its obligations to represent grievants and to assure strong legislated grievance procedures.

Ninety one percent of the respondents supported staggered terms for the Governing Board and 71 percent favored a staff corps representative on the AFSA Governing Board. We will explore means of incorporating these provisions in revised bylaws which must be submitted to the membership for formal approval.

Finally, only 20 percent of those surveyed favored being represented only by a labor union. Two percent would prefer only a professional association and 78 percent support continuation of our present mix of professional and labor organization. The Board has found these dual functions to be mutually self-supporting and has no plans for a change in status. We will continue to ally with the civil service unions on shared objectives such as USG retirement benefits and annual cost of living pay increases.

The questionnaire also included personal data which we are correlating by group against some of the specific answers and analyzing in order to have a better understanding of the specific interests of our members. In addition, the written comments have proven highly useful in understanding the views of those we represent. Board officers have made a concerted effort to read them and weigh them in our deliberations.

Thanks to all for your help in making the unified voice of the Service felt within your association, with management and with Congress and the public.

## FOREIGN SERVICE BICENTENNIAL

On January 10, 1781, Congress established a department of Foreign Affairs. The resolution provided that "there shall be a secretary for the despatch of business of the said office, to be styled 'Secretary of Foreign Affairs,' " and that the Secretary shall "be authorized to employ one, or, if necessary more clerks to assist him in the business of his office." This was the genesis of today's Foreign Service.

In January of 1981, The American Foreign Service Association plans to celebrate this 200th anniversary and we solicit suggestions from *Journal* readers. One project the Association has on its agenda is a commemorative stamp for the Foreign Service. Design suggestions and/or graphics for such a stamp would be welcome. We'll print the best ones in the *Journal* and pass them along to the proper postal service authorities.

## AID NEWS

**Open Advertisement of AID Position Vacancies:** In June the Chairman of the AID Standing Committee conveyed to AID/personnel AFSA's recommendations for improvements in the AID assignment system. It was proposed that all AID/W and overseas vacancies be advertised periodically, so that all AID personnel would know what jobs were available and be in a better position to compete for them. It was further maintained that Assignment Board deliberations should be a matter of record, and that AID personnel should have access to this information—as it affects them—in their respective personnel records.

A follow-on meeting was held with AID/personnel and AFSA representatives in July, pursuant to which the acting chief, Labor Relations Staff, sent the following comments to the AID Standing Committee Chairman. Since these represent a constructive attitude on the part of AID/personnel, they are reproduced verbatim:

Essentially, we agree that it is important to review thoroughly our present system for assigning foreign service personnel. We need to assure ourselves that assignments are, as far as possible, consistent with sound program requirements, individual career development objectives, and employee/family needs and desires. In these regards, we anticipate receipt shortly of an audit report conducted by the AG entitled: AID Foreign Service Assignment and Rotation. In addition, the AID foreign service assignments process is under review by a consultant and we hope to receive his recommendations by the end of October.

We believe that the results of these two efforts together with other efforts now underway will allow AID to make some firm judgments by next January regarding the assignment process. At that time we would anticipate consulting with you, prior to adoption, concerning any decisions which will revise or change any existing personnel policies, procedures, or working conditions.

We will keep you advised and will be happy to meet with you from time-to-time to be apprised of any additional information you may have. We desire to fashion an assignment process which is fair to the employee and meets agency staffing needs.

AID/AFSA will continue to promote "happiness" within AID/PM by focusing attention on this sub-

ject and further information on the state of our consultations will be reported over the next few months.

**Discretionary Interpretation of AID Handbook Regulations:** At a 1974 session with AID/Personnel on the subject of mixed modes of travel, an FSR was told by an AID/PM officer that—

You must understand that AID cannot really be expected to follow those regulations included in the Handbook with which it is not in philosophical agreement. You should also understand that AID management reserves this privilege for itself. After all, many times AID does not have control over what is published in the Handbooks.

Six years later, in June 1980, SER/MO advised an AFSA member that the AID Handbook "does not have the force of a regulation issued by the Department of State or AID pursuant to law. . ."

From these two anecdotes it is apparent that AID management feels that it has the right to determine which of the Handbook regulations it will follow and which it will not. It is furthermore maintained by management that no one else has the discretionary authority. Readers who may have experienced similar instances of selectivity on the part of AID/management are invited to bring these to the attention of the AFSA/AID Standing Committee.

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## IRAN HOSTAGES

The Association issued the following release, printed by the *New York Times* and others, during street demonstrations by Iranians in mid-August:

The demonstrations by supporters of the revolution in Iran should not divert the attention of the world from the plight of the 52 Americans being held in Iran. On the contrary, the fact that aliens can freely express their views, protected in a nation of laws, stands in stark contrast to the violations of law and of human dignity imposed on our colleagues detained in Iran.

We are confident that the American people will not allow themselves to be provoked by the demonstrators into actions which would either endanger our fellow Americans or provide a pretext for further rhetoric by extremists in Iran.

## BOOKFAIR 1980

Margaret Palmer, publicity chairman for AAFSW's annual bookfair, has written the *Journal* that the fair will be held on September 27, 28, 29 and October 2, 3 and 4. Her letter included some interesting bits of history and information as follows:

This is our 20th anniversary of successful bookfairs. What started as a modest group of volunteers with 6,000 books and makeshift tables in the department's courtyard and proceeds of \$2,800 split into five scholarships has grown to spectacular proportions. This year the committee has collected 100,000 books which have been sorted into over 100 categories for shelving and easy selection. Continuous restocking of the shelves during the six-day event bring the browsers and buyers back day after day for that "extra special" find. The Art Corner is daily receiving collectibles and interesting finds from all over the world and the posters and stamps and prints and records and maps are avidly sought. Even Virginia Rusk could not have envisioned, when she cut that ribbon for that infant one-day fair dubbed "Bookmart," the rippling influence it would have over the years—benefiting so many young people in our foreign service community as well as numerous District of Columbia community projects.

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## GRIEVANCE REPRESENTATIVES

AFSA seeks Foreign Service employees to assist potential grievants in identifying the nature of their problem, formulating their complaints, following through on redressing the grievance at the agency level, and ultimately representing the grievant before the Foreign Service Grievance Board if the grievance has not been resolved.

If you are interested in volunteering, contact Sabine Sisk in the AFSA office, Room 3646, Department of State, X28160. We will provide you with a Foreign Service Grievance Handling Manual and will provide instruction in all phases of grievance representations.

## MERIT AWARD WINNERS

This year twenty-five graduating high school students have received Merit Awards from the American Foreign Service Association and the Association of American Foreign Service Women. These awards are based on the excellence of the students' high school records and their extra-curricular achievements as determined by volunteer review panels.

Students who will be graduating in 1981 should request applications in November from: AFSA Merit Awards Program, 2101 E Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20037.

Biographies and photographs of this year's award winners appear in these pages.

**Juliet A. Davison**, daughter of Mr. & Mrs. John S. Davison, State. Born in Brussels, lived in the Congo, Yugoslavia, Niger. Graduated from Madeira School, returning at vacation time to Cotonou. Attended a French School in Niamey for two years acquiring a proficiency in French and learning a great deal about West African culture and customs. Accepted at Brown University but considering taking a year off to spend some time abroad.

**James F. Elfers**, son of the late FSO Frederick Elfers and Christine Elfers, State. Born in Tokyo, lived in Yugoslavia, Thailand and Madagascar. After his father's death in Kenya and his mother's later remarriage, spent a year in Tehran on an Army tour. Jim is involved in a wide range of extra-curricular activities and has delved into everything from skiing to hang gliding. In high school (Washington-Lee) received trophy as most valuable swimmer, was president of the ski club and editor on the school literary arts magazine. Will attend Stanford University and has a broad spectrum of academic interests and career ideas.

**Michael David Whiting**, son of John David and Diane Lynette Whiting, State. Born in Buenos Aires, lived in Iceland, Paraguay and the Canal Zone. Eagle Scout, National Merit Finalist, news editor of a nationally top-ranked school newspaper (Walt Whitman High School), president of Quill & Scroll. "I run my own lawn mow-

ing business and in my free time I enjoy volleyball, basketball, rock-climbing, camping and hiking." Will attend Cornell University on a scholarship with the hope of a master's degree in mechanical or aeronautical engineering.

**Michael H. Meresman**, son of Joseph and Azar Pirnazar Meresman, State. Lived in London, Tehran, Geneva. Graduated from the International School of Geneva. Studied piano for 11 years, interested in skiing, singing (choir, opera, barbershop quartet), baseball, debate, volleyball, tennis, on honors or merit list every year since 7th grade. Will attend Brown University and study physics or related science.

**Sheila Dols**, daughter of Richard J. and Mary L. Reidy Dols, State. Born in Washington, lived in France, Canada, Swaziland, Niger and New Zealand. Graduated from Hawaii Preparatory Academy. Interested in writing, music, especially classical guitar (also a furtive interest in New Wave), drama, dance, astronomy, photography, modern art and design, science fiction, history, aircraft, hiking, camping, travel. Honorable mention in National French contest, Cum Laude Society. Will attend the College of William and Mary to study journalism and creative writing, physics ("if I ever get my math together"), sociology and psychology, possibly design.

**Karen Cecile Eisner**, daughter of Adolph H. and Eleonora M. Eisner, State. Lived in Mexico, Brazil, Portugal, Uruguay, Panama and Guatemala. Graduated from Walter Johnson High School. First place in the Special Category of the 1979 National Spanish contest, a Commended Student of the National Merit Scholarship Association and received a fellowship from the Montgomery County Chapter of the American Heart Association. Hopes to continue with track, hockey and the developmental growth of retarded children, extra-curricularly, at Wesleyan University (Conn.) this fall, while majoring in pre-med.

**Lisa Anne Jackson**, daughter of L. Richard and Ruby B. Jackson, State. Born in Rawalpindi, lived in Switzerland, Malaysia and India.

Graduated from American Embassy School, New Delhi. Most valuable player in both basketball and softball, National Merit Commended Scholar, president of the Student Government Association, president of the National Honor Society and valedictorian. Also played the clarinet in the band and functioned as yearbook photographer. Will attend College of William and Mary, majoring in biology.

**Caitlin J. Porter**, daughter of Bruce Porter, State. Born in Washington, lived in Peru, Panama, Brazil, Angola, Barbados and Bolivia. Graduated from the American Cooperative School, La Paz. Member, National Honor Society, vice president, student council, assistant yearbook editor and certified diver. "This summer, as well as last, a friend and I have rented a nursery school room and are running our own school for young children." Will attend College of William and Mary.

**Pamela Wilkinson**, daughter of M. James and Anne C. Wilkinson, State. Born in Canberra, lived in Germany, Thailand and Russia. "My specific interests are drama, writing and skiing. I have been in several plays and was at one time an apprentice for the Street 70 Theater Co., in Rockville and have won various awards in forensics at Walt Whitman High School." National Merit commendation, first place in essay, Scholastic Writing Awards (Senior Division), \$500 scholarship from the Scholastic-Oliver Grant. Will attend Smith, probably majoring in an area of the humanities.

**Anne Sprightley Ryan**, daughter of Ambassador and Mrs. Hewson A. Ryan, ICA. Lived in Honduras for four years where she learned fluent Spanish, attended National Cathedral School, 1975-77, and graduated from Phillips Academy, Andover. Was co-president of the chorus, president of the Recycling Club and chairperson of the Energy Committee. National Merit commendation, co-recipient of the Poynter Prize in music, elected to the Cum Laude Society. Will enter Yale to further her studies in the humanities.

**Tatyana J. Day**, daughter of



**Marc Taubenfeld**



**Michael D. Whiting**



**Daniel Teven**



**James Eifers**



**Timothy J. McCarron**



**Sheila Dols**



**Tatyana Day**



**Juliet Davison**



**Wendell Piez**



**Caitlin Porter**



**Carol Cizauskas**



**Pamela Wilkinson**

Robert E., Jr. and Sherie H. Day, State. Lived in Germany and Poland, traveled to Yugoslavia, Canada, Greece, Spain, England, the USSR, Holland and Austria. Graduated from Fort Hunt High School, active member of the varsity tennis team, ski club and German club, played the french horn in the band and orchestra and sang in the choir. Member, German and National Honor Societies, selected for regional choir, Virginia State winner on the German national exam twice. Attended Governor's School for the Gifted last summer. Will attend Yale University, majoring in English.

**Ann M. Weber**, daughter of Dr. and Mrs. Arnold R. Weber, State. Lived in Senegal, the Philippines and England. Interested in math, the natural sciences and theater. Salutatorian, winner of the UK Women's Panhellenic Society Award. Graduated from the American School in London. Will attend the University of California at Santa Cruz.

**Christine McHale**, daughter of Mr. and Mrs. James D. McHale, ICA. Lived in Indonesia, Singapore, Belgium, Niger and Thailand. Interested in horseback riding, soccer and piano, National Merit semi-finalist, valedictorian, member National Honor Society, graduated from McLean High School. Will attend the University of Virginia, majoring in biology.

**Carol Anne Cizauskas**, daughter of Albert C. and Gerovaita A. Cizauskas, State. Born in Germany, traveled in Holland, Spain, Italy, Greece, Switzerland and France. Graduated from Bishop O'Connell High School, where "I helped edit the school newspaper, participated in theater, contributed to the literary magazine, actively involved myself in the Latin and German clubs, held office as a student government representative and worked in other clubs and activities." Member, National, German and Latin Honor Societies. Interested in creative writing, sailing, classical ballet, waterskiing, radio, drama, German and Catholicism. Will attend Notre Dame, majoring in liberal arts and hopes to go on to law school.

**Daniel J. Teven**, son of Irwin K. and Lyn E. Teven, ICA. Born in Illinois, lived in Accra, Athens,

Manila and Nairobi. Graduated from the International School of Kenya where he was junior class vice president, yearbook photographer, newspaper editor, valedictorian and on the soccer and rugby teams. National Merit Scholarship Finalist. Will attend Brown University.

**Lester Paul Slezak, Jr.**, son of Lester P. and Rheta Slezak, State. Born in Bermuda, lived in France, Belgium, Sweden. Graduate of Gar-Field High School, Woodbridge. Member, National Honor Society, National Merit Commended Scholar, Gar-Field Band Director's Award. Interested in mathematics, music, sports, played trombone in six different organizations and participated in six Regional and All-County Festival Bands and Orchestras, active in soccer, basketball and bowling leagues. Will attend Texas Christian University where he has been awarded a Dean's Scholarship and a Band Scholarship.

**Kenneth C. Harris**, son of Kenneth O. and Patricia Harris, State. Born in Turkey, lived in Bulgaria, Poland, the Philippines, Laos and Chile. Graduate of James Madison High School, where "I participated on the math team, the chess team, the soccer team and 'It's Academic.' I received a letter of commendation from the National Merit Scholarship program, I have won three awards from the National Spanish Exam and I am a member of the National Honor Society." Will attend the College of William and Mary as a pre-med student.

**Timothy James McCarron**, son of James W. and Corinne M. McCarron, AID. Born in Minnesota, lived in Turkey, the Philippines, Kenya and England. Graduated from Ratcliffe College (high school), Leicester, England, acted in several plays, plays the piano and is learning the organ. Member of First Four in rowing and also interested in English prose and poetry. Received the School Music Prize and the Science Prize. Will attend Magdalene College, reading natural sciences at Oxford University.

**Dean F. Bland**, son of Merton L. and Janine Bland, ICA. Lived in Ghana, Zaire, Malagasy Republic, Guinea, France and Pakistan. Graduated from Karachi American

School and Washington-Lee High School. Valedictorian, member, National Honor Society, national winner of Quills and Scrolls Current Events quiz, grand prize winner at Science Fair. Student Council president, varsity soccer and varsity football. Will attend College of William and Mary, majoring in government and/or economics.

**David B. Edwards**, son of Ralph J. and Carol Edwards, AID. Born in Illinois, lived in Morocco, Senegal, and Egypt. Graduated from Cairo American College (high school). Received awards in physics and Arabic, high honors and highest honors, valedictorian. Played varsity softball, participated in the Close-Up program and was ambassador to the Model United Nations in The Hague. Will attend the University of Virginia, participating in the Echols Scholars Program.

**Paul D. Ozzello**, son of James and Yvonne Ozzello, State. Born in Washington, lived in Germany, France and Mexico. Graduated from Bishop Ireton High School with honors and awards in English and physics. Speaks and reads Spanish and French. Will attend Carleton College and major in physics and mathematics.

**Marc W. Taubenfeld**, son of Howard and Rita Taubenfeld, State. Born in Texas, lived in France. Graduated from Highland Park High School in Dallas. High honor roll, school math team, National Merit Scholarship Finalist. Enjoys all sports, also music and plays both the piano and the guitar. Will attend Duke University, majoring in political science and hopes to become a lawyer.

**Daniel F. Birn**, son of Richard and Jacqueline Birn, ICA. Lived in Finland, Hong Kong, Canada, Malta and Mexico. Graduate of West Springfield High School. Member, Mensa, National Honor Society, National Spanish Honor Society. Finalist in the 1979 NCTE achievement awards in writing, commendation award in the American Heart Association high school heart research program, vice president of the Medical Explorers post, photography editor of the school newspaper and staff member and contributor to the literary magazine. Now working

*(Continued on page 45)*



**Anne Ryan**



**Kenneth C. Harris**



**Ann M. Weber**



**Dean F. Bland**



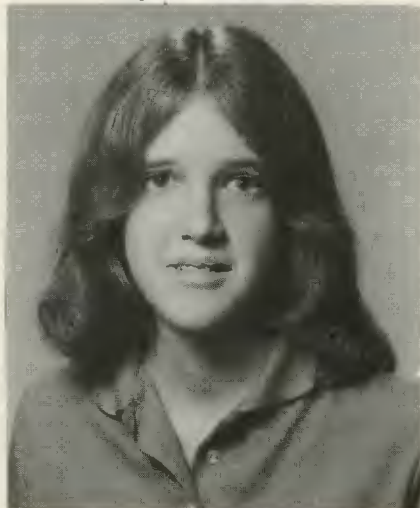
**David Edwards**



**Lester Paul Slezak**



**Christine McHale**



**Lisa A. Jackson**



**Michael Meresman**



**Karen Eisner**



**Paul Ozzello**



**Daniel F. Birn**

# Getting Ahead in the Foreign Service

CURTIS F. JONES

Many newcomers to government are handicapped by ignorance of the first law of bureaucracy: *Survive*.

The rationale goes like this: I am a patriotic American looking for ways to help my country. I can help it best by getting into government and, once there, by getting a job at the policy level. Ergo, what is good for my career is good for America.

This lesson is hard to absorb in the idealistic climes of academia. Only in the hard school of experience do many of us learn that the accomplished bureaucrat, whether lofty politician or lowly time-server, is the modern alchemist. He survives by the transmutation of energy—the conversion of political problems into bureaucratic advantage.

Observe the following profiles in pragmatism from one small cranny of the American Bureaucracy—the Foreign Service.

*The Invisible Ambassador.* This country had two capitals several hundred miles apart. The ruler resided in one, the diplomatic establishment in the other. Whenever the US ambassador had to repair to the ruler's side, he left the embassy

in charge of a third secretary. During one such absence, word came that an eminent Pentagonian was to make a refueling stop at a nearby US military airfield. The third secretary met the plane, answered a few routine questions, and saw the dignitary off, happy to be able to tell the ambassador the visit had gone without mishap.

But the ambassador was anything but gratified. If the aide had sent him an urgent cable, he might have commandeered an Air Force plane and gotten back in time to greet the VIP. The third secretary drew some trenchant remarks in the *judgment* section of his next efficiency report for not realizing that the bureaucratic bottom line was not the expense of a superfluous flight but the importance of being *visible*.

*The Funny Coincidence.* The higher you go on the career ladder, the easier to grab the glamorous assignments and delegate the drudgery to subordinates. If one of them should still contrive to distinguish himself, you as supervisor can share the credit.

One ambassador customarily shunned the lower ranks except at efficiency report time, when he had to write the review statements. Criticizing one officer's output, he produced an example of what the young man ought to write. The latter was startled to see his section chief's name on a report strangely similar to a draft he himself had submitted some months earlier.

Note the section chief's miscalculation: Outright plagiarism is bad bureaucratic practice. Far safer to change a few words, add your own name, and confide to superiors that your subordinate's draft required massive rewriting.

However, the section chief's basic instinct was sound. There is never enough glory to go around, so grab what you can, even if it's only reflected.

*The Resilient Intelligence Report.* You can't impress everyone, so concentrate on impressing those who count. Pick patrons on the way up and subordinates who see their advancement in yours. Instead of focusing on your own advancement, seek a broader allegiance to a bureaucratic clan. And remember that knowledge is power. In interclan rivalry, you will find that one of your most effective weapons is the inside tip. Keep it closely until you can use it to impress your superiors or confound your rivals.

One State Department official, receiving an intelligence report of considerable bureaucratic potential, had the wit to restrict its dissemination to his own circle, but he was too new in the job to realize the same report might come in later from the intelligence service of a friendly country. When it did come in, he was on leave and a subordinate took independent action on it. By not sitting on the report until his supervisor's return, he disarmed it as a bureaucratic weapon, served

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Curtis F. Jones joined the Army in 1942 where an assignment to the ASTP program introduced him to Arabic and Middle East studies. Consequently his FS career (1946-75) was spent in the Arab world and in related assignments in the department. Since retirement he has continued as a writer, speaker and consultant on US-Arab relations.

notice that he was not a member of the right clan, and wiped out any chance of advancement in that office.

*The Zealous Envoy.* The first law of diplomacy comes from Talleyrand: "Above all, not too much zeal." But diplomacy is one thing, and bureaucracy is another. Take the case of the US Representative to the UN who castigated the Third World for seeking American hand-outs, excoriated the Arabs for criticizing Zionism, and condemned the Soviets for denying human rights. He wasn't a big success at the UN, but he went on to win election to Congress by a comfortable margin, thus winning himself an honored place in the annals of bureaucratic survivalism.

*Omniscience in Government.* The interactions of the four billion inhabitants of this planet are so intricate that no one can understand them, let alone control them.

Electorates don't like to hear this truth from their representatives, and the representatives don't like to hear it from the executive branch. Whether you are a policymaker or a junior officer, you will often find yourself in a quandary over some sensitive issue. Don't admit it. If you exude confidence, others will follow your lead, and you will enjoy an important advantage in the fight for bureaucratic survival.

Of course, you will often be wrong on the issue itself, but that error will not be bureaucratically relevant unless it is disclosed. In most cases it will be years, if ever, before anyone can prove your fallibility. Meanwhile, there are many bureaucratic expedients at hand. How many officials of the Johnson and Nixon administrations were "personally" opposed to the Vietnam intervention but stayed on in government in order to "influence policy?" How many memoirs have you seen inventing new rationales for the bombing of Haiphong or the destruction of Cambodia or the loss of Iran?

Herewith an invaluable technique of survivalism: *Be omniscient.*

*Omniscience in the Field.* The good reporting officer sees everything and knows everyone in his country of assignment. This objective is not always easy, especially in those countries where it's not

safe to get around or the people are afraid to talk to Americans.

These situations call for an extra measure of bureaucratic agility. One American headed a small mission in a country so steeped in suspicion that the locals declined all his invitations and did their best to avoid him on the street. Aside from those few convivial types who sought out his company on instructions from the local intelligence apparatus, he had only one indigenous source—the head of the American section of the local foreign office.

Under the stress of bureaucratic exigency, that one official blossomed into a whole cluster of

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**"Instead, he defied the law of survival, advised Washington for the good of the people of the two countries to give the merger every chance, and lost his embassy."**

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sources: not only the director of the American desk, but also "a well-placed official," "a member of an influential family," "a government party official who asked not to be identified," and so on.

*Omniscience on the NSC.* Back on consultation, an ambassador learned of a proposed White House initiative that would vastly complicate American relations with his country of assignment. He sent a State Department desk officer over to the National Security Council staff offices, next door to the White House, to make urgent representations. The official who received the appeal had never served in the area, but he dealt with it with the appropriate mixture of condescension and good humor: "That exercise is already under way. Tell your ambassador not to worry. I know a little more about these matters than he does."

Subsequently the NSC staffer was named ambassador to a Middle Eastern country, where he found difficulty in driving down the street without attracting a hail of rocks

from the local gentry. His tour was cut short, but the experience must have made him wiser still.

*The Non-Cable.* If you ever do make an obvious mistake, lose no time in covering it up. One American chief of mission received a high-level telegram advising a hazardous course of action. He acted on that advice, and the results were disastrous. Somewhere in the murky upper reaches of the State Department, a seasoned survivalist took immediate remedial action. Without any instructions in writing, all copies of the offending message were collected and destroyed. Only a few remember that it once existed to shed doubt on the judgment of its sender. Even fewer will ever know who that sender was.

Whenever possible, the soundest bureaucratic practice is to avoid the written record altogether. It will be a milestone in your career when you acquire the authority to sign your own cables, but as you rise in the service and your subject matter increases in sensitivity, you will do more and more of your business by personal letter. If you ever reach the top, you will often eschew recourse to paper altogether—until, of course, you come to write your memoirs.

*The Iconoclast.* Having reviewed these case studies in bureaucratic survivalism, you may wish to contemplate the story of an official who took a different route. He was the new ambassador to a country that suddenly decided to merge with a neighboring state. He might well have tried to protect his job by recommending that the US oppose the merger, since lapsed ambassadors often slip into retirement; the government of the other party to the merger was in bad odor in Washington, and the merger's prospects were dim in any case. Instead he defied the law of survival, advised Washington for the good of the people of the two countries to give the merger every chance, and lost his embassy.

As luck would have it, he escaped the consequences of this foolhardy action. He found another embassy, and went on to fill some of the highest positions in Washington and New York that a career officer can hold.

There is an exception to every rule.



## Book Essay

### Psychological Insights For Diplomacy

GEORGE S. HARRIS

CYPRUS—WAR AND ADAPTATION: A *Psychoanalytic History of Two Ethnic Groups in Conflict*, by Vamik D. Volkan, M.D. University Press of Virginia, \$13.50.

From time immemorial, those who make foreign policy have practiced amateur psychology. The benefit derived from reading the state of mind of adversaries was obvious. By the 1960s, American decision makers could go a step further and consult personality studies of foreign leaders produced by medically trained analysts. By and large, however, the study of key individuals has remained the focus of interaction between psychoanalysts and the foreign affairs community.

In recent years, psychiatrists have attempted to broaden their contribution by offering the insight of group psychology to explain ethnic conflict and the interaction of national bodies. To this end, late in the 1960s, medical practitioners set up a Task Force on Psychiatry and Foreign Affairs. It soon began to attract the attention of policy makers dealing with such stubborn issues as the Arab-Israeli conflict and the Cyprus issue. Nonetheless, the involvement of psychiatry in the practice of diplomacy remains at a rudimentary level. Only in dealing with international terrorism have the benefits of clinical help begun to be widely recognized.

Dr. Vamik Volkan is one of the pioneers of the process of exploring the potential for using psychiatry in foreign relations. A trained clinical practitioner, he was a founder of the task force. Driven by his personal quest to understand the psychoanalytic dynamics of the conflict that wracked Cyprus, the land of his birth, he has applied his professional expertise to the analysis of the Turkish community on the island. The claim that his is "A Psychoanalytic History of Two Ethnic Groups in Conflict" thus somewhat exaggerates his actual accomplishment. It makes one long for an equally insightful treatment of the Greek community by one of its clinically trained psychiatrists.

The book begins with a stimulating foreword by Dr. John E. Mack, who succinctly pulls together some of the larger lessons of the psychological study that follows. He explains the "narcissism of minor differences" that characterizes feuds of adjoining communities. In layman's terms Mack points out how proximity to another group affects the way members of one group feel about themselves. One of his sobering findings is that intergenerational training passes on attitudes that sow the seeds of future wars. This reminder is indeed useful as a spur to those who deal with foreign affairs as they struggle with immediate concerns.

Dr. Volkan initiates his account with a psychological description of what it meant to grow up in Cyprus as a Turk. Foreign Service officers will be struck by the fact that his case study method differs from the more customary social science approach. Instead of an effort at depersonalization of the material to demonstrate its objectivity, Dr. Volkan explains at every turn his own involvement, reactions, and the process by which he came to his conclusions. He thus presents historical data more as an adjunct to the proper understanding of the case materials he is analyzing than as a systematic exposition of historical trends or the dynamics of politics. Moreover, to the nonspecialist, the challenge will be to keep straight the psychoanalytic concepts (e.g., "splitting")—however painstakingly defined.

From the effort to expose the reality of Turkish Cyprus on a psychological level comes a deeper appreciation of the emotional barriers to peace between neighboring communities. One emerges from Dr. Volkan's penetrating study profoundly impressed with the innate drive in each community to blame its ills on the other. Intuitively it is easy to accept the link

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between "self" and "nation"—how an individual's self esteem "rises and falls with the fate of its nation." But Dr. Volkan shows how the dichotomy of self/good and object/bad, which normally disappears in the maturation process, is perpetuated by the culture on Cyprus. The difficulty in perceiving "gray areas" or in considering compromise is thus a legacy from this unfinished childhood task.

Equally interesting for foreign affairs professionals are his insights into war. He candidly admits that this question is difficult for a psychoanalyst to treat, since he recognizes that some cogent motivations for war lie beyond the scope of psychoanalysis. Yet, while deploring its destructiveness and essential "insanity," he points to the therapeutic nature of war and its psychological value as a way to peace—something that many Foreign Service officers have noted in connection with the 1973 war in the Middle East. In Cyprus, Dr. Volkan explains, war relieved the low self-esteem of the Turkish community. But he is not in a position to tell us how to assess the psychological barrier of defeat for the Greek side.

His work demonstrates the necessity of mourning before peoples can move into new stages. From his experience with individuals, he concludes that even victors must grieve to prepare the way for the acceptance of victory. Only when this lengthy process is complete can those who won the war begin to feel empathy and compassion for those who lost. Unfortunately, cultural stereotypes, reinforced by historical experience, hinder the completion of mourning and adaptation.

Thus Dr. Volkan's book stands out as a trail-blazing effort to deepen the awareness of diplomatic practitioners. In arguing against simplistic mechanisms for furthering the peace process—such as the notion that community knowledge of its rival would break down barriers—his insights may be discouraging. But in view of the demonstrated difficulties of achieving break-throughs in bringing the two communities together, his understanding clearly reflects reality. He suggests that only by acknowledging the wrongs and hurts on both

sides can an atmosphere be created that would permit some progress toward reconciliation. The task for diplomats is to create a forum in which diplomacy can profit from the psychological insights offered in this stimulating and innovative work.

## Bookshelf

### A Renaissance Woman

CHANCES OF A LIFETIME, a *Memoir*, by Eleanor Lansing Dulles. Prentice-Hall, \$14.95.

"A memoir" by sister Eleanor? Will it answer open questions about the Dulles era? Or, perhaps, rebut Leonard Mosley's two-year-old hackneyed theses on the role of John Foster and Allen in relation to Donovan, the Wild Bill, McCarthy, the Witch-Hunting Witch, Noel the Red Pawn, Hoover the Cop, and on Suez, U-2, Bay of Pigs, etc.? Indeed the book lifts a corner of the veil on some dark chapters of modern history, going back to "Uncle Bert" Lansing's resignation from Wilson's cabinet in 1919, that is for the *cognoscenti* who will learn between the lines—but this is not its principal merit nor purpose: Eleanor Dulles's intense discretion kept her harmless of conspiracies. She will not say so, but I bet that innermost she refers to those as male-chauvinists' playthings. . . .

For the main interest of the story is the heroine's struggle to assert and accomplish herself in the man's world of theory, action and sex.

Lest we forget it, Eleanor Dulles occupies the first rank among the monetary economists of the twentieth century with her *French Franc* (1928), after Irving Fisher (1911), between Jacques Rueff's *Théorie Monétaire* (1927) and Keynes's *Treatise on Money* (1930), and long before Milton Friedman (1966), with a theory that still holds water (the lag in the variations of the quantity of a money behind those of its internal and external values); add to that the very serious project, with husband David Blondheim, to produce a French dictionary satisfying philological criteria (which neither the *Académie's* nor Larousse's do!), plus some twenty years of teaching, and you begin to have an idea of the intellectual scope and reach.

In the field of politico-economic action, from her work with the Shurtleff Committee during World War I, in a hairnet factory afterwards, as a founder of social security during the New Deal, in the Board of Economic Warfare and in the post-war reconstruction of Germany and Austria, also as a *revizor* in foreign aid, Mrs. Dulles has more real, solid and lasting achievements to brag about than many famous statesmen I can think of. Her Berlin construction program is legendary and, with excessive modesty, she overlooks her promotion of the counterpart-funds program that brought West Germany back into production after the currency reform of 1948. Indeed, her sparse but telling remarks on the uses of power are here to stay: "Government agencies should not be run by clever people. They like to play . . . games," for instance. If Jean Monnet had been such a keen observer of his own strategies, we would know much more today about the mechanisms of recovery following World War II than we do.

Important as all this appears, the major contribution might be that which is made to the women's liberation movement by one who dares to write: "I do not think a belligerent female is a substantial help in [the] civilizing process." She learned how to use men and how to bear the suffering that unavoidably follows. She was discriminated against and all her former colleagues can feel penitent

for it, including, one would hope, her late brother, John Foster.

The book reads well and includes such pithy vignettes as that describing passengers and crew's reaction to a submarine false alarm on the 1917 sea lanes. Some editing would have made it better and some errors of fact could have been corrected: Charles Rist was never governor, but *Sous-Gouverneur* of the *Banque de France* and not in the late thirties, but in the twenties: and Benjamin Strong was certainly not "president" of the Bank of England, but governor of the Federal Reserve Bank of New York.

This, however, is nit-picking. *Chances of a Lifetime* will remain a valuable autobiography of a renaissance character and a monument, self-built with pardonable pride, to a brave person.

—CHARLES H. TAQUEY

### On Foreign Devils

TO CHINA AND BACK, by Jan Bredsdorff. Pantheon, \$10.00.

This memoir is partly about China and the Chinese and partly about the author. At age 22, he was employed by the Chinese government to teach English in Canton middle school. Off and on, he spent three years in China in the 1965-1976 period.

His observations of the Chinese during and after the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution are discerning and interesting. Though based on intimate interaction with students and teachers, in particular, they do not seem impressively



Arabian Sea, by Alice Palmer

profound or significant. They are, of course, essentially, one man's experience and conclusions. As the author is a novelist, he writes with ease; he describes people and events vividly. Herewith a sample of his observation:

... (It is difficult, no—more than difficult—impossible for Westerners to fully integrate with the Chinese. There are few countries in the world where the adjective “foreign” is used so often. In the old days . . . “foreign devils” and “big noses” were used to describe Western people and “foreign devilry” their products and culture. As . . . the only foreign culture the Chinese had experienced had been various forms of imperialism, it is not surprising that it should be described as devilry.

This personal account of a young Dane's experiences in China during eventful years is easy, pleasant reading. It is certainly, however, not “*must*” reading.

—ROBERT W. RINDEN

### Unconscious Agents

THE SPIKE, by Arnaud de Borchgrave and Robert Moss. Crown Publishers, \$12.95.

The Foreign Service needs no introduction to Arnaud de Borchgrave, *Newsweek's* chief foreign correspondent, whose exclusive interviews and on-the-spot coverage of critical events are well known around the world. In collaboration with Robert Moss, editor of the London *Economist's* private intelligence bulletin, *Foreign Report*, and an authority on revolutionary warfare, he has fashioned an international spy thriller about the Soviet Union's efforts to penetrate and influence Western media and high echelons of government—what the KGB's Directorate A calls “disinformation.” The expertise brought to bear on the topic by these tough-minded journalists gives the first novel by either of them a compelling aura of authenticity.

In newspaper parlance, to spike a story is to kill it; the news is thus slanted by omission. *The Spike* follows the adventurous trail of a young reporter, Robert Hockney, from the days of campus demonstrations at Berkeley right down to the timely present—and just beyond. Along the way he writes an exposé of Directorate A's activities which is spiked by the *Washington World*; its editors, in the words of

KGB defector Viktor Barisov, are *tyomhaya verboura*—persons who serve Soviet interests without knowing it and are therefore unconscious Soviet agents. Barisov's explosive testimony at a Senate hearing vindicates Hockney and sows consternation in the spy-ridden administration next to this one.

The tale unwinds in a series of interrelated episodes at a fast clip. It is liberally sprinkled with sex; as the protagonist himself says, “That's what sells.” Which in no way detracts from the underlying theme: to what extent has western public opinion been led to acceptance of policies promoted by the Russians while allowing doubt and discredit to be cast on our own? Recent events in Asia and the Middle East support the book's contention that such issues should be of paramount concern to anyone who cares about our national security. It remains to be seen what the press itself may have to say in reply on this important subject.

—HENRY S. VILLARD

### CIA In Action

WILDERNESS OF MIRRORS, by David C. Martin, Harper and Row, \$12.50.

*Wilderness of Mirrors* is a patchwork of interviews and rehashed newspaper and congressional reports of alleged CIA doings. It focuses on two CIA stars—William King Harvey and James Jesus Angleton—the first a macho extrovert in the mold of G. Gordon Liddy, and the other a suspicious, Machiavellian introvert with a genius for conspiracy. The author's portraits grow into caricatures as the story develops. He presents them as misshapen humans pounded out of round by their weird doings in the CIA. He demonstrates that their careers typify the professional ineptitude and moral bankruptcy of the CIA and its operations.

Martin describes Harvey's four lives in CIA: first his anti-communist drive which culminated in the unveiling of notorious Soviet agent Kim Philby; then his leadership of Operation Gold—a 1,476-foot tunnel under the Berlin Wall which allowed the CIA to tap the USSR's secret cabled communications; then his downfall when he failed his assignment under Robert F. Kennedy to commit sabotage,

assassination and subversion in Cuba; and his final embarrassment as a hard-drinking, pistol-packing ex-cop out of his depth as CIA's chief of station among sophisticated Italians.

Angleton, CIA's counter-intelligence boss, is pictured as Harvey's arch rival—jealous because Harvey unmasked Philby who had duped him. He was again duped by Soviet defector Golitzin, slavishly believing his suggestions that KGB agents lurked everywhere, and that they included personalities like Arthur Schlesinger, Averell Harriman and at least one “mole”—thought by some to be Angleton—in the CIA itself.

Martin's journalistic style gives his yarn verisimilitude, but for the most part, it remains largely that—a collection of gossip and unverified accounts of the CIA in action. A mystery novelist might do the job better, for his craft could make it smoother than this book which purports to be true history or biography but which appears to be neither, since so many of its quotes and stories are unsecured by anything stronger than the laws of libel. For the armchair spy Martin provides a sometimes thrilling vicarious adventure.

—FITZHUGH GREEN

### Two Memoirs

THE WORLD OF OZ, by Osborn Elliott. Viking, \$14.95.

This “inside report on big-time journalism by the former editor of *Newsweek*” (to quote the subtitle) is precisely what one would expect: a breezy, boozy, snappily written, gag-filled memoir of thirty years of two-martini lunches at “21,” fast-breaking stories, and elbow-rubbing with the great.

The book's best features are the inside accounts of the media way of life, the idiosyncrasies of well-known editors and publishers (especially Henry Luce and the late Philip Graham) and anecdotes about fellow-journalists. Otherwise, it epitomizes the superficiality of contemporary international news coverage. Of the world figures that Mr. Elliott met in the course of a long career there is not one memorable portrait; from his exposure to history in the making not an insight worth remembering. Like an issue of his newsmagazine, these recollections make good

reading for an airplane trip and are as quickly forgotten.

WINDOWS ON THE RIVER NEVA, by Paul Grabbe. Pomerica Press, \$8.95.

This is a delightful memoir of the totally cushioned boyhood and adolescence of the son of a general and aide-de-camp to the czar in the years immediately prior to World War I. As in other memoirs of the period the psychological insulation of the upper classes, and their pathetic innocence of the economic and technological forces then at work in their own country and the rest of the world, is what strikes one most.

—CHARLES MAEHLING, JR.

### The Way It Was

GUATEMALAN CAUDILLO, by Kenneth J. Grieb. Ohio University Press, \$16.00.

Kenneth Grieb might have entitled his book, *That's the Way it Was*. He gives us a splendidly detailed portrait of dictator Jorge Ubico, of the environment that produced him and that he could not escape, of how Ubico affected that environment, and of how the environment affected Ubico.

*Guatemalan Caudillo* is eloquent in the sense that meaningful facts clearly set forth are eloquent. At times Grieb's facts approach high drama; as when Ubico, president of a tiny Central American republic, maneuvers Secretary of State Henry L. Stimson, who has labored mightily to reduce *continuum* in Central America, into appearing to endorse Ubico's plan to continue in office contrary to provisions of the constitution.

While Grieb is painting a portrait of Ubico and his times, he is also telling us much about dictatorship in general; what leads to it and what it may lead to. Especially noteworthy are his topical approach, his use of both Guatemalan and United States documents, and his extensive use of interviews that enable him to depict characters as well as present facts.

By 1944 Ubico was already separated from reality. When he tried to extend his term of office a second time a student revolt broke out. The middle class he had helped to create, but which had been given no role in the political process, turned against him. On July 1 he

resigned. The way was open to the election of Juan José Arevalo. Development, which Ubico had fostered with dramatic success, would be placed on a back burner. Social reform would be the new thing.

—WILLARD L. BEAULAC

### Tilting Toward Israel

CONGRESS AND ISRAEL, by Marvin C. Feuerwerker. Greenwood Press, \$23.95.

Can a Jewish ex-employee of the American-Israel Public Affairs Committee write an objective book on the subject of Congress and Israel? My answer is a qualified "yes." I know of no recent publication that has focused so sharply on the subject of the behavior of Congress on matters relating to Israel. Stephen Isaacs's *Jews and American Politics* touches on the subject, but not in any depth.

The book's title is somewhat misleading, as it deals almost exclusively with the House of Representatives. The period of time covered by the study is 1969-1976. The author demonstrates that Congress's impact on US arms sales policy to Israel was less important than on foreign assistance appropriations because the former was considered an important element of American Mideast diplomacy. He also notes that, in its generosity with economic aid to Israel (including debt forgiveness), Congress has eliminated a powerful executive bargaining device.

Why the pro-Israel sentiment? First, Jewish groups are well-organized and can mount a campaign in a hurry. Second, anti-Israel groups are badly organized and fragmented. And third, most congressmen, though confused about our "commitment" to Israel, start with a basic sympathy for that country, and it is so much easier to take a position consonant with that of a group of vocal, highly-organized constituents, even though, as in some districts, that group may not control many votes. The author gives comparatively less credit to the influence of Jewish congressmen upon their colleagues. He also faults the executive branch—at least during the Ninety-fourth Congress—for failing to raise strong objections to certain pro-Israel actions.

The author also notes the red-carpet treatment given visiting

legislators by Israeli authorities. Elsewhere, however, he observes that for some congressmen, travel in the Middle East "fosters opposition to assistance to Israel and a more pro-Arab attitude toward the Arab-Israeli conflict."

Missing from the book is any analysis of the impact of pro-Israel congressional actions on overall US national interests, though the author does suggest it is desirable that Congress "refrain from controversial action when quiet negotiations can be more effective." Nor does he note that certain congressional measures—such as anti-boycott legislation—appear to have been stimulated by groups intent on worsening US-Arab relations.

In his concluding chapter, Feuerwerker finds a decline in Israel's popularity in Congress for several reasons: its treatment of the Palestinian problem; the relative youth of today's Congress, with only vague memories of the Holocaust; the Vietnam complex; and the possible loss of energy sources. The appendices include the texts of important resolutions and letters, and there is an excellent bibliography. The price is high: \$23.95.

—JAMES H. BAHTI

### The Urge to Kill

THE DARKROOM, by Carolyn Banks. Viking, \$10.95.

Bradford Bishop is alive and well and preparing to commit a few more axe murders. That's the premise of this novel which fictionalizes the Bishop murders and disappearance. A disjointed effort to explore the motivation of William Holland (the character based on Bishop) leads one to the conclusion that Mom's insistence on good behavior combined with his wife's gentle nagging pushed him into becoming an axe murderer.

The plot is sketchy, but the characters stand out, especially a henpecked CIA agent rather gratuitously involved in tracking Holland down and Holland's second wife, an overwhelmed divorcee.

It hardly provides any clue to the Bishop mystery, but this book definitely gives some motivation to stop nagging one's spouse.

—KAREN FOSTER

### Thirty Years in China

MY HOUSE HAS TWO DOORS, by Han Suyin. Putnam's, \$19.95.

Encompassing momentous events in China (1949-1979), this unique account of those events—this poignant memoir of the author's life in those tumultuous times—informs and enthralls. With ready access to China's movers-and-shakers and with long years of friendship with many, she writes with authority, insight and felicity.

The historical value and personal revelation of this 655-page *apologia pro vita sua* defies encapsulation. It should be enjoyed and pondered in its entirety. Yet, herewith a few excerpts.

*Mme. Sun Yat-sen*: "I love the American people. I consider America my second home." (Younger sister of Mme. Chiang Kai-shek, she is a Vice-Chairman, Chinese People's Republic, a graduate of Wesleyan College, Middletown, Conn.)

*Mme. Mao Tse-tung (Chiang Ch'ing)*: "There is no doubt in my mind that Chiang Ch'ing was suf-

fering from paranoia. However, this kind of paranoia also induces devotion and fascination. . . . She certainly convinced Roxane Witke (*Comrade Chiang Ching*) that she was 'outstanding . . . I think she will be a very important woman in China's history,' said Miss Witke."

*Lin Piao*: "Lin Piao has indeed plotted to seize power by a military coup. . . . His 'unbounded love' for Mao, the father figure, turned to hatred. He called Mao a feudal tyrant."

*Chou En-lai*: "Chou En-lai (in 1972) was pulling China together after the strains, tosses, the upheavals (of the 'Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution'). Readjustment, consolidation, elevation were the key words. . . . As Chou En-lai said: of finding out what was valid and what did not work, always with the same object in view: to chart China's road to swift development, to speed her progress."

*Mao Tse-tung*: "Anyone who reads Mao thoroughly realizes that he was a populist; that he tried to give the people of China more

voice in their own affairs. . . . Mao remains China's great liberator. Without him, the present-day re-birth could not have happened."

*China's Future*: "The present Chinese leaders know that in order to succeed, the people must be with them. For this, they must ensure stability and peace, food in abundance and consumer goods. But, above all, they must give constitutional guarantees of rights and liberties for the individual."

*America*: "The power, the greatness, the technological might of America captured us. . . . America's natural beauty, its space and immensity but also an anxious emptiness. . . . After a while, we were assaulted by a sameness. A conformism numbing in its unspoken, absolute authority. . . . The same coffee in all the cafeterias, hotels, and restaurants dispensed by interchangeable waitresses. . . .

*Love is a many-splendoured thing*: (Hong Kong, 1949) "And then there came to me, at last, love, Ian Morrison. He will be with me always. I knew then the great mar-

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I was the strong silent type at cocktail parties until I started reading the JOURNAL. I'm still silent but I can no longer tear the phone book in half.

vel and enchantment of love. . . . When it came to choosing what I would do, I would always choose the loyalty to my emotions." (Ian Morrison, war correspondent for the London *Times*, was killed in the Korean War.)

—ROBERT W. RINDEN

### CIA Intrigues

*ROPES OF SAND: America's Failure in the Middle East*, by Wilbur Crane Eveland. Norton, \$14.95.

The title of this vivid and well-written memoir of US involvement in the Middle East is misleading: it is a history of CIA intrigues in Iraq, Egypt, Syria and Lebanon during the period 1948-1960 rather than an analysis of current events. Endorsed by Ambassador Charles W. Yost as an exposure of the "arrogance and naiveté of much of US Middle East policy in those years," it is all the more effective for the thread of almost comic misadventure that attended the author's checkered career.

In the late '40s Eveland was an army major and Arab specialist in the office of the assistant secretary of defense for international security affairs (ISA). As a result of involvement in the first US military assistance programs to the Middle East he rose rapidly in rank and responsibility, making a meteoric leap to GS-18 on the Eisenhower NSC staff. At this point he was loaned to the CIA as a sort of resident trouble shooter and secret emissary of Secretary of State John Foster Dulles and his brother CIA Director Allen Dulles in the Middle East.

The story that unfolds makes barely credible reading in the '80s. Then in the flood tide of its power and influence, the CIA poured money and personnel into the Middle East in an effort to fill the vacuum caused by the withdrawal of the British and French. Intervening in local elections, bribing politicians and army leaders, using American business and charitable organizations as cover, the CIA meddled on a grand scale in Iraq, Syria and Lebanon, attaining an in-

fluence far outweighing that of the US ambassador and the AID mission chief.

If what Eveland says is true, our overt and covert interventions during this period accomplished little except to compound the existing turmoil. Much of our covert action was devised by amateurs and based on ignorance of the local situation. So infatuated was Allen Dulles with covert operations that he neglected intelligence gathering to the point of planning the Syrian coup of 1956 (financed by a trunkful of cash personally smuggled by Eveland) for the same day that Israel invaded Egypt. In first promoting the rise of Nasser, and then plotting against him as a tool of "international communism," the Dulles brothers set back US-Egyptian relations by ten years. Throughout, US domestic politics and a theological approach to communism precluded understanding that it was Israel and the Palestinian question, not the Soviet threat, that was fueling Arab radicalism.

In Lebanon the author describes how he regularly traveled back and

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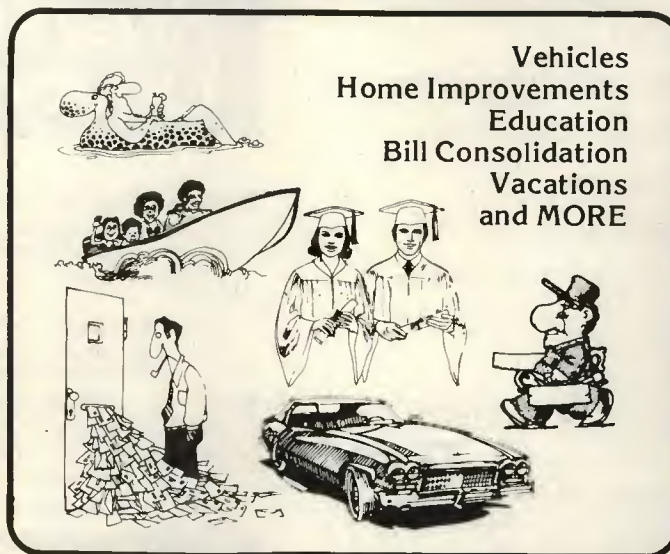
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forth to the presidential palace with suitcases full of Lebanese pounds. In Iraq and Syria US policy, guided by Kermit and Archibald Roosevelt of the CIA, seems to have been largely a matter of conspiracy. "What, I wondered," complains the author at one point, "were our ambassadors supposed to be doing? And if Washington really believed all this nonsense, we could in theory close down our embassies, use safe-house meetings to direct foreign affairs, and substitute subsidies to our 'agents' for conventional foreign aid."

The author's note makes much of the fact that the CIA first held up publication of the book for forty-six days and then inexplicably refused to review it. Whether this was owing to the author's ambiguous status—he was never a CIA career employee in the formal sense—or because the galleys were already in print, is not made clear. In any case there is such a wealth of classified and incriminating detail in this fascinating book—including CIA acronyms, communication methods, identities of CIA station personnel

and agents, and revelations of hitherto "deniable" operations—that its publication makes a mockery of the Supreme Court decision in the *Snepp* case.

—CHARLES MAECHLING, JR.

### Pre-Castro Cuba

THE WINDS OF DECEMBER, by John Dorschner and Roberto Fabrico. Coward, McCann and Geoghegan, \$15.95.

This year Fidel Castro's regime in Cuba celebrated its 21st anniversary. Despite the bearded dictator's persistent claims that conditions have been greatly improved since President Fulgencio Batista's departure, more than one out of every ten Cubans have chosen the hardships of escape and exile. *The Winds of December* provides a fascinating account of the two frenetic months preceding Batista's dramatic flight from Havana in the early morning hours on New Year's Day 1959.

As the US naval attaché to Cuba from mid-1954 through most of 1957, I knew the island well and was acquainted with many of the

people mentioned in the book. I became so charmed by the authors' action-packed journalistic style that it was difficult to put the book down. It was as if I were transported back to the Cuba I had left.

Having digested the feast of a most pleasurable first reading, a more critical examination of the book revealed a few minor errors and some omissions despite the obvious effort on the part of the authors to be accurate. The extensive use of personal interviews, although more than a score of years have elapsed since the events took place, has provided a diversity of viewpoints.

Despite its shortcomings as a definitive history, *The Winds of December* is recommended to the thoughtful reader as a source of valuable lessons to be learned from the US experience with Castro's revolution. These lessons are applicable not only to our current foreign policy in Latin America but can be useful in our relations with revolutionary movements throughout the world.

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**POST OFFICES**

from page 18

I'd been to live in Africa all alone, of how exciting Paris must have been. As he embellished the stories of my adventures, told to him by Maya, I was suddenly aware of a small group of people behind me. Some were servants, others were businessmen with briefcases. A couple of young women in scarlet and yellow saris stood near the door. They had all come quietly and stood listening.

I wondered what strange images were forming in the minds of those who understood English as the postmaster's sing-song voice narrated my experiences in the Andes mountains of South America, where I had stayed alone on my coffee farm during vacations.

"... always in fear of being kidnapped, weren't you?" I was surprised to hear him ask. Such a thought hadn't occurred to me, but not wanting to spoil his story I nodded.

After paying for the stamps, I said goodbye, smiled self-consciously at the upturned faces and slipped away as the high-pitched voice switched to Bengali.

**COMMUNICATION, from page 8**

which he has strong views. It is one of the charming aspects of American democracy that once a bureaucrat has managed to implant a phrase or idea in a presidential statement or policy, that phrase or idea can at once be cited as a foundation stone of US policy. This phenomenon, coupled with the bureaucracy's tendency to bend over backwards in following a presidential lead, makes it positively dangerous for the Foreign Service officer to nail his flag to the presidential mast. The president only knows best if such knowledge is based on strong and untrammelled reporting and such reporting and analysis will occur only if there is not an *a priori* desire to tilt the analysis in the direction which the analyzer thinks is the prejudice of an administration or a president. The attitude on the seventh floor, the FSO described by Mr. Davis, the Foreign Service attacked by Mr. Kissinger are all instances of presumptive tilt in the direction of prevailing presidential prejudice.

Dissent carried on to the point of decision-making (and beyond as far

as internal discussion is concerned) which Kissinger attacks in the East Pakistan case is made more difficult by mindless identification with real and imagined presidential policy.

Your January 1980 issue is indeed an excellent one. The *Journal* needs no Wayward Press column. But occasionally it needs a second look to puncture foreign service complacency.



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**FROM PEARL HARBOR  
TO POTSDAM**

*from page 14*

held proudly and his voice was firm, he was clearly a sick and weary man.

Still, though not a total surprise, the shock was terrible. We had lived under his strong and benevolent arm for twelve years. The war was still at the flood and was already giving birth to a host of intractable problems. Truman was an almost totally unknown quantity. How would we survive?

Oddly enough, I received a posthumous note from President Roosevelt. After the frustration of my Italian plans, I had decided to apply for reinstatement in the Foreign Service, with a view to breaking out of Washington after so many years and going to a post abroad as soon as possible. The mills of the bureaucracy had ground slowly, my application had at last been accepted, and a brief memorandum requesting presidential approval had been sent to the White House. There it totally and

mysteriously disappeared for many months. Some days after Roosevelt's death, Chip Bohlen, who was handling liaison with Harry Hopkins, saw on Hopkins's desk a batch of mail that had trickled back from Warm Springs. On top was the memo requesting my reinstatement, and on it was scribbled in shaky, almost illegible hand, perhaps on his very last morning, "OK FDR."

I was not, however, destined to return to foreign service until I had in 1945 attended two famous conferences, that at San Francisco where the UN Charter was completed and signed, and that at Potsdam, the last meeting of the Big Three, the last meeting with our Soviet allies at which at least the facade of friendship was maintained.

At San Francisco my first duty was to draft each evening a report from the secretary to the president on what had transpired during the day, a practice incidentally which, if it had been followed later by Secretary Byrnes during his official peregrinations, might well have

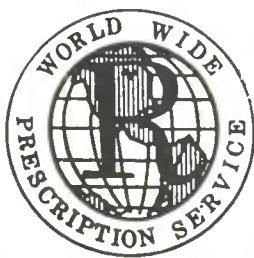
prolonged his tenure of office. My second duty was to continue and to expand my briefing of Stettinius, since the work of the conference absorbed most of his time, about the whole melodrama of events around the world in what we know now, but did not know then, were the closing weeks of the war.

Two sad little incidents stand out in my memory. The first was a visit with Stettinius to a military hospital to which the severely wounded from the battle of Okinawa had just been flown, the long rows of maimed and mangled men, some surviving only in a hobgoblined world of their own, others fumbling awkwardly to muster some response to the strange civilian "brass" at their bedsides.

The second was the last meal in the penthouse of the Fairmont Hotel with a stricken Stettinius who had just learned, though others had long known, that on his return to Washington next day he would be required to resign his great office. At the pinnacle of his success, just after the conference

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of fifty nations he had shepherded had been triumphantly concluded and the United Nations Charter signed with pomp and ceremony, his personal future lay in ruins at his feet. Four of us ate quietly at the shrunken table and, looking out the high French windows at the beautiful city, talked of casual inconsequent things.

Within a few days I was off to Potsdam as secretary general of the US delegation, Jimmy Byrnes, who had barely been sworn in as secretary of state, having accepted Stettinius's nominations for the delegation almost intact, adding only three or four of his own people including, somewhat incongruously, Ben Cohen, one of the chief architects of the New Deal, Admiral Leahy, former chief of naval operations and ambassador to Vichy, and Joseph Davies, husband of Marjorie Merriwether Post, pre-war ambassador to Moscow and apologist for Stalin. Actually none of these three, nor indeed Averell Harriman, Robert Murphy nor most of Stettinius's nominees played much part in the substantive

decisions of the conference. Perhaps Will Clayton and Ed Pauley, because of their involvement with the reparations question, which was Truman's and Byrnes's main concern, were the most influential.

**B**efore the conference opened Bour delegation toured what was once Berlin, saw the desolation of tumbled brick and twisted steel stretching as far as the eye could see, smelled the stench of burning, corruption and dust. At one end of the Unter den Linden a black market bazaar was in lively progress, Berliners, mostly women, some in rags, some still in faded elegance, bartering watches, jewelry, priceless antiques, for food or cigarettes proffered by callow Red Army GIs. Refugees from the east streamed along the main highways, pulling their few pitiful rescued possessions in little carts, often a sleeping child sprawled on top. In Hitler's massive marbled Reichschancellory everything of value had been wrenched from floor and walls; only one room was

ankle-deep in third-class military medals, no longer of interest to anyone. In the dark, dank, gutted cellars where Hitler and Goebbels had died, the stink, the murk and the silence were almost unbearable. We got out as fast as we could.

The American and British delegations were housed in Neu Babelsberg, a gracious colony of villas, untouched by war, inhabited until a few days before our arrival by producers, directors and actors from the nearby UFA film studios, a little Hollywood on the Wannsee. I recall behind the elegant villa where the American "mess" was installed a fresh grave in which was buried, we were cheerfully informed by our mess sergeant, the owner of the villa who had been ousted without warning by the Russians and had imprudently sought to return under cover of darkness to retrieve some of her property.

I recall a great reception given by the British in a pompous Victorian palace built by Kaiser Wilhelm. Having been asked by a junior

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member of the British delegation to help entertain one of his principals, I was introduced to a bald little man figuratively sucking his thumb in a corner of the vast hall, totally ignored by all the bemedaled, beribboned personages chattering there. He was Clement Attlee, within a fortnight to become prime minister of Britain. When I dropped in at British headquarters the evening after the election returns came in, the gloom could have been cut with a knife. Both civilian and military Oxbridge types thought the end of the world had come. Yet the most impressive Britisher taking part in the conference was Ernie Bevin, the enormously corpulent, indefatigably combative, instinctively incredulous trade union leader and now foreign secretary.


The conference itself was held in the Cecilienhof Palace which had belonged to the Hohenzollern crown prince and princess. The American delegation met in what had been their heterogeneous library, which included a number of volumes on naval affairs bearing the nameplate of the prince's

father, a would-be "naval person" in his own time. We noticed one day that Admiral Leahy was examining these volumes with deep interest, and the next that several had disappeared. Before the conference ended, there were yawning gaps on the library shelves. Many of us had followed the admiral's impeccable example, on the theory that any volumes we did not "liberate" the Russians after our departure would.

I have given earlier my impressions of Stalin, Churchill and Truman at the conference. Stalin certainly overshadowed the other two in confidence, competence and cunning. He also completely dominated, indeed presumably, though not visibly, terrified, his own subordinates. Molotov, who met in the mornings with the other foreign ministers and reported in the afternoons to the Big Three, Stalin repeatedly reproached for having been too adamant and uncompromising with "our friends," overruled on nonessentials and supported adamantly on the things that mattered. While Churchill

rambled on about history, justice and future generations, Stalin leaned back in his chair and watched the smoke of his cigarette curling lazily to the ceiling. He was never angry or impatient, as Truman and Bevin sometimes were. He rose only twice from his chair during the sessions: once to show the president a map of Stettin and its environs which he proposed be ceded to Poland in further compensation for what it had "lost in the east," a second time warmly to greet Field Marshal Alexander, the conqueror of Italy, who had been called in to make a point by Churchill.

I recall old Henry Stimson, a little late for an appointment with Stalin, shuffling down a long carpeted corridor with half a dozen Russian underlings circling anxiously about him and chivving him on.

I recall the last night of the conference, almost midnight, the three great men tired but jovial, their work almost complete, in a few minutes tying up the loose ends, offhandedly confirming the fate of populations and principalities. 

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## LETTERS, from page 4

under secretary. It seemed to me then that the walls were caving in upon the Service. And while I visualized myself as trying to hold up the temple, I'm sure there were those in the Service who saw me as being the blind Samson—trying to pull it all down. In any case, I convened a group of non-career assistant secretaries to talk about the Foreign Service, its strengths, its weaknesses, and its needs. Their unanimous response to my question—"In your experience, what characteristics distinguish a career Foreign Service officer from a person from business, academe, or politics?"—was one word, "Availability." I was shocked. But pry, prod, and probe as I would, they would not grant me more. "Availability!"

It is my sincere hope that the Service will rally to Smith's call for a renewal of our diplomatic professionalism; for it's the members of the Foreign Service who must change and cause change to happen. The apparatus of the department is only the vehicle.

Smith's straightforward, direct and simple message reminds me that there is both beauty and power in the uncomplicated. His message to us is reminiscent of the little boy in the story of the "Emperor's New Clothes." So, as I say, it's my hope that the Service will also hear Smith's message—"But, fellow officers, we lack diplomatic skills adequate to cover our needs." If we can indeed hear this without being unduly defensive or angry, maybe we will think seriously of doing something about it. It's my personal view that there have been few times in our history when the need for diplomatic professionalism has been greater. And if change does come about, we shall all owe Smith, Leon, and the *Journal* itself a great debt of gratitude.

WILLIAM J. CROCKETT

*Foreign Service Officer Retired*

*Peoria, Arizona*

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## MERIT AWARDS, from page 30

for the Naval Research Laboratories. Will attend Yale University, majoring in physics and philosophy, then hopes for a Ph.D. in physics at MIT or Berkeley.

**Wendell A. Piez**, son of William and Mary Ellen Piez, State. Born in Germany and lived in Afghanistan, the Philippines and Japan. Graduated from The American School in Japan. His interests include the biological and social sciences, computer science, linguistics, literature and music. Plays the trumpet and participates in singing groups, debate and spring musicals. Also on the tennis team. National Merit Finalist. Will attend Yale.

**David G. Brown** also received a merit award but his biography and photo were not received in time for inclusion in this issue.

## Foreign Service People

### Marriage

**Ennis-Ennis.** Barbara Ennis, widow of FSO James H. Ennis, and Arthur F. Ennis were married on June 14 at St. John's Lafayette Square. Present address is 2911 39th Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20016.

**George-Weiss.** Tanya Maria George and David Alan Weiss, son of FSO-retired and Mrs. Leonard Weiss, were married on June 19 in Washington. Mr. and Mrs. Weiss are with the Peace Corps, she as desk officer for Morocco, Tunisia and Yemen and he as special assistant to the director.

**Vance-Hoy.** Marie Esterline-Vance, daughter of Mr. and Mrs. John H. Esterline, FSIO-retired, was married to John Craven Hoy on May 22, on Nantucket Island.

### Birth

**McNamara.** A son, Marc Francis, born to FSO F. Terry McNamara and Cong Tang Ton Nu Nhu De on July 20, in Alexandria, Va.

**Peck.** A daughter, Julia Katherine, born to FSO and Mrs. Edward L. Peck on July 16, in Washington.

**Tumavick/Sperling.** Alexandra Sperling born July 27, 1980 to

Nancy M. Tumavick and Jonathan L. Sperling, both FSRs with AID. Ms. Tumavick is the Bangladesh Desk officer and Mr. Sperling is the Deputy Desk officer for Egypt.

### Deaths

**Boylan.** Robert J. Boylan, FSR-retired, died on July 27 in Washington. Mr. Boylan joined the Foreign Service in 1951 and served at Singapore, Canberra, Tokyo and Calcutta before his retirement in 1970 from USIA. After retirement he was a senior editorial specialist with both the National Retired Teachers Association and the American Association of Retired Persons in Washington. He is survived by his wife, Margaret, 2803 Arizona Terrace, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20016, two daughters, Elisabeth and Ann, a son, Robert IV, and a sister, Rose Josephine Boylan of East St. Louis, Ill.

**Carey.** Gloria W. Carey, widow of FSO Robert V. Carey, died on June 27 in Cleveland, Ohio. Mrs. Carey accompanied her husband on assignments to Asuncion, Caracas, Brussels, Oslo and Montevideo. She worked as a nurse at Arlington Hospital from 1971 until her husband's retirement in 1976. Mrs. Carey is survived by two sons, Robert of Cleveland and Andrew of Oakville, Tenn., two daughters, Mary Elizabeth Kleiber of Arlington and Ginger Carey of Cleveland, a brother, two sisters and four grandchildren.

**Fleming.** Catherine G. Fleming, FS-retired, died on July 9 at the Hermitage Nursing Center. Ms. Fleming entered the Foreign Service in 1944 and served at Naples, Belgrade, Caserta, Caracas, Tokyo, Rangoon, Buenos Aires, Canberra, Tel Aviv and Dublin. She is survived by a niece, Mrs. Karen Gejdenson, P.O. Box 181, Fitchville, Conn. 06334.

**Gallman.** Waldemar J. Gallman, retired ambassador, died on June 28 in Washington. Ambassador Gallman entered the Foreign Service in 1922 and served at Habana, San Jose, Quito, Riga, Warsaw, Danzig, London, and as ambassador to Poland, Union of South Africa and Iraq. Before his retirement in 1961, he served as director

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general of the Foreign Service. He spent the next nine years as a consultant to the governments of South Korea and Vietnam, helping those countries establish diplomatic training programs. Ambassador Gallman was the author of *Iraq under General Nuri* (Johns Hopkins Press, 1964). He is survived by two sons, John G., of Bloomington, Ind., and Philip G., of Burke, Va. The family suggests that expressions of sympathy be in the form of contributions to the AFSA Scholarship Fund.

**Gowen.** Mrs. Franklin C. Gowen, wife of FSO-retired Franklin C. Gowen, died on June 2 in New York City. Mrs. Gowen accompanied her husband to posts at Rome, Naples, Palermo, London, Vatican City, Mexico City and Geneva before his retirement. Mrs. Gowen was active in charitable enterprises, including volunteer Red Cross work. In addition to her husband, 176 East 77th Street, New York, N.Y. 10021, she is survived by two sons, William Edward Wickersham Gowen and George W. Gowen, II, and four grandchildren.

**Henebry.** Information on Charles Williams Henebry, FSO-retired, who died on April 16, was incomplete in the July/August *Journal*. Mr. Henebry entered the Foreign Service in 1955 and served at Munich, Hamburg, Frankfurt, Beirut, Tripoli and Basra before his retirement in the mid-'60s. In addition to his mother, he is survived by his son, Charles William, Jr., 1100 South Adams St., Denver, Colo. 80210.

**Killea.** Anne (Nan) O. Killea, wife of William D. Killea, FSI-ret., died on June 19 in Eugene, Oregon. Mrs. Killea accompanied her family to posts in Mexico City, Guadalajara, Karachi, Lima, Lagos, Vienna and Tehran. In ad-

dition to her husband of 2661 Windsor Circle West, Eugene, Oregon 97405, she is survived by a son, Ensign William R. Killea, a recent graduate of the USNA, and a daughter, Anne, of the home address.

**Mag.** Edward A. Mag, FSO-retired, died on July 5 in La Jolla, California. Mr. Mag entered the Foreign Service in 1948 and served at Budapest, Vienna, Tokyo and Rome before his retirement in 1962. He continued to live in Italy for 15 years as a consultant on American and international law. He is survived by his wife, Mary Walker Mag, 201 Via Ossuna, Rancho Santa Fe, California 92067, and two brothers, Arthur Mag of Kansas City, Mo. and Morton Mag of New Britain, Conn.

**Moore.** Marcia L. Martin Moore, FSO-retired, died on June 2, in Sarasota. Mrs. Moore entered the Foreign Service in 1947 and served at Guatemala, Tokyo, Yokohama, Naples, Saigon, London, Dakar and Nairobi before her retirement in 1976. She is survived by her husband, Brockman M. Moore, 55 Pharr Road, N.W., Apt. 204-C, Atlanta, Ga. 30305 and her stepmother, Florence S. Laurence of Coral Gables. A perpetual memorial scholarship will be given in her name by the American Foreign Service Association beginning this year.

**Richardson.** William Garland Richardson, FSO-retired, died on May 19, in Geneva, New York. Mr. Richardson joined the Foreign Service in 1935 and served at Tokyo, Nagoya, Darien, Sao Paulo, Manila, St. John's, Monrovia, Munich and Paramaribo before his retirement in 1965. He is survived by his wife of 99 William Street, Geneva, New York 14456.

**Sakaue.** Muneo Sakaue, FSO-retired, died on April 29 in Falls Church. Mr. Sakaue joined the Foreign Service in 1956 and served in Tokyo, Frankfurt am Main, Osaka-Kobe and Frankfurt again. After retirement in 1976, he was called on to serve short assignments in Manila, Kingston and Amsterdam. He is survived by his wife, the former Jane Kubota, 3705 S. George Mason Dr., 1114-S, Falls Church, Va. 22041, two sons and a daughter.

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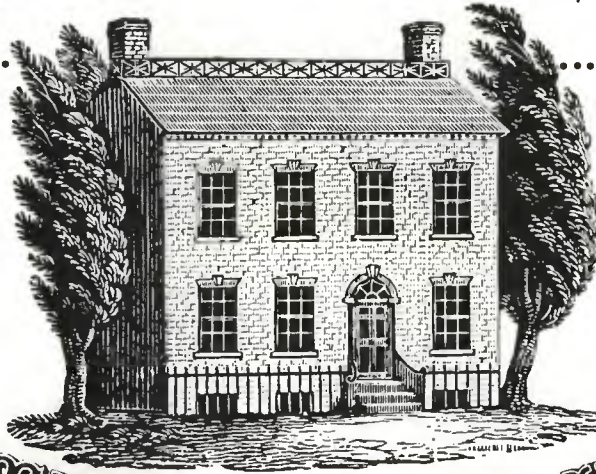
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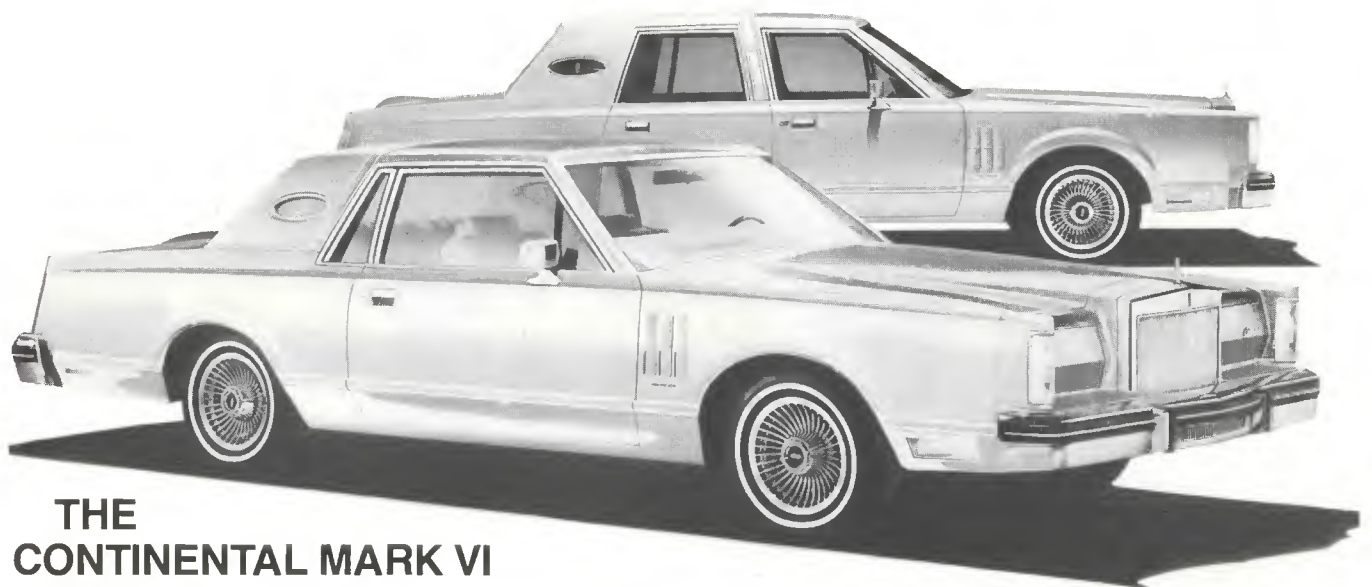
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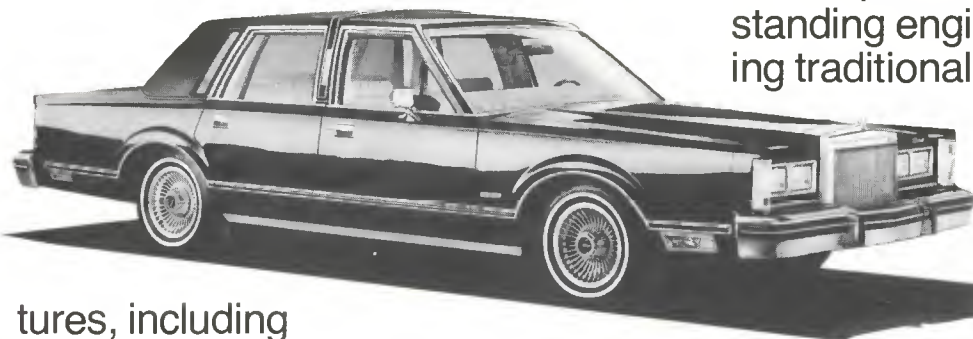
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